# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-236
Thursday
8 December 1988

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*FBIS-SOV-88-236* *8 December 1988*

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## Reduction Center Chief Cited on Verification

*PM0712120388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 First Edition p 2*

[Interview with Major General V. Medvedev, chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, by correspondent Colonel V. Polezhayev: "At a Base in Arizona: Soviet Inspectors Have Returned From the United States"]

[Text] A group of Soviet inspectors headed by Major General V. Medvedev, chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, has been visiting the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in the United States. Our correspondent, Colonel V. Polezhayev, met with the center chief.

"Our specialists abroad, like the U.S. specialists in our country incidentally, are provided with all the conditions necessary for successful work," Vladimir Ivanovich said. "There are no problems either in organizing the process of verifying the destruction of missiles or in resolving other questions. Our treaty partners give exhaustive replies to all questions. And the elimination of missiles always begins only after a corresponding thorough preparation in the presence of our specialists and only with their permission.

"At the base in Arizona, where U.S. ground-based cruise missiles are being destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, we saw first and foremost a well-prepared operating technique. Work stations have been equipped at a special site. After the wings and tail section have been cut away the missile's airframe is cut in half. The launch canister and launcher chassis are also cut in two. The cutting is done by a special frame saw. All the operations are performed by the base's specialists. In the 2 days that we spent at the base, 7 launchers and 41 ground-based cruise missiles were destroyed.

"In brief, the possibility of anyone being able to deceive anyone else has been virtually precluded. But the most important thing is that no one tries. We have allowed each other into our inner sanctums, as it were, and will always be mindful of that. The inspection groups and their escorts have the usual professional relationships.

"As for our center, I would recall that there is a counterpart to it in Washington. They began working in April this year and initially all they did was to pass on notifications of ballistic missile launches beyond the country's borders toward another country, as well as those launches which pose a danger to shipping and aircraft. In other words, measures were taken to reduce the nuclear danger and avert incidents at sea and in the airspace over the sea.

"When the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was ratified the centers began performing functions connected with the relay of notifications essential to the effective verification of the treaty's implementation. The centers use the electronic apparatus that they have to send reports concerning the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles from Moscow to Washington and vice versa within seconds. When, for example, the destruction of Pershing-2 launchers began at the U.S. repair base at Hausen, a suburb of Frankfurt, all the relevant notifications were sent to Moscow via the Washington center. The same thing happened when the U.S. cruise missiles were being destroyed at Davis-Monthan.

"The actual technique whereby the notification is sent is also unique. It is appropriate to the present-day volume of work. After all, in total more than 2,500 missiles, both deployed and undeployed, and around 1,100 launchers are due to be destroyed. Furthermore, the facilities are scattered over a large area, thousands of kilometers from one another. Around 40 different forms of notification have been devised to actually perform this task—notification of the planned date of inspection, the planned schedule for the elimination of the missiles, and so forth. Since June 1 more than 1,500 notifications of that kind have been received or sent under the treaty.

"The center is manned around the clock. Each shift at the communications desk consists of two people. In addition, there are specialists and translators on duty who prepare the notifications and also send the U.S. center's reports to officials and organizations in our country.

"Computer technology makes it possible to transmit 6,400 words a minute via two communications satellites—ours and an American one. Reports are received and sent round the clock by means of facsimile transmission. Before being sent, each report is automatically encoded and on reaching its destination is automatically decoded and displayed on a screen at the center in question.

"Lastly, I should like to mention the first results of the elimination process. By the end of November, around 50 Pershing-1A's, 9 Pershing-2's, 41 ground-based cruise missiles, and 17 launchers had been destroyed. By that date the USSR had carried out 40 inspections in the United States and in those countries where nuclear missiles are sited. The United States had conducted 165 inspections. The elimination process goes on."

## 'Implemented Successfully'

*AU0712203088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 88 p 7*

[Interviews with USSR Major General Vladimir Medvedev and U.S. Lieutenant Colonel Kendall Pease by Lubor Kazda and Zdenek Porybny: "Our Moscow and Washington Reporters Inquired: How is the Treaty on Missile Elimination Being Fulfilled?"]

[Excerpt] In Moscow our reporter Lubor Kazda was briefed by Major General Vladimir Medvedev, chief of the Soviet National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center,

attached to the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. The center under his command provides (inter alia) a constant fax link with a similar facility in the United States. Both sides use fax to exchange all information on the fulfillment of the treaty, and to exchange data on tests and exercises involving strategic weapons, so as to prevent misunderstandings and the risks ensuing from them.

[Kazda] How many, and what kind of missiles has the Soviet Union eliminated so far, within the framework of the Soviet-American treaty?

[Medvedev] A total of 440 missiles were destroyed by 2 December, 112 of them intermediate-range, and 248 shorter-range missiles. All 80 ground-based cruise missiles have also been destroyed.

[Kazda] From where did all these missiles come?

[Medvedev] From a number of bases on USSR territory, as well as from bases in the CSSR and GDR. For instance, all OTR-22 operational-tactical missiles withdrawn from Czechoslovakia have already been destroyed; the OTR-23 missiles from the GDR are now being destroyed.

[Kazda] Does this mean that some bases are totally free of these weapons, that the missiles withdrawn from them have already been destroyed?

[Medvedev] It does; and, apart from the ones mentioned here, this applies to (roughly) 15 other bases.

[Kazda] How is the technical elimination process proceeding? And what about ecology?

[Medvedev] The destruction process is continuing, without any problems and strictly according to the technologies anchored in the treaty. The elimination process is supervised by ecology experts, who confirm the preliminary test data yielded by the verification experiments. Thus, air pollution during the elimination process does not exceed the tolerance norm.

[Kazda] When will other Soviet missiles be destroyed, and when will they all be destroyed?

[Medvedev] The elimination is carried out in eight places—continuously in Sary Ozek and Stankov, and elsewhere at certain intervals; activities about which the other side is notified. By the end of next year all shorter-range missiles will have been destroyed. As for intermediate-range missiles, the contractual sides have committed themselves to destroy them within 3 years from the moment the treaty became valid.

[Kazda] How many control inspections has the Soviet Union carried out on American bases to date?

[Medvedev] The USSR has carried out up to 45 inspections.

[Kazda] How many U.S. inspectors are currently in the Soviet Union, and where?

[Medvedev] There are currently three groups (consisting of a total of 40 U.S. inspectors) in the Soviet Union: in Sary-Ozek, Stankov, and Votkinsk.

[Kazda] How do you assess the course of inspections to date, their results, atmosphere, and the efficiency of verification?

[Medvedev] The Soviet assessment of the inspections is positive. They are businesslike, efficient, and filled with the spirit of cooperation. No obstacles, problems, or misunderstandings have cropped up. Run-of-the-mill technical issues (which can naturally occur even during the inspections themselves) are being resolved successfully. The verification work is being carried out reliably, efficiently, and with precision.

[Kazda] How do you exchange data on the fulfillment of the treaty with the American side?

[Medvedev] There is a non-stop exchange via the facilities at our center. Each side notifies the other of the elimination of another set of missiles, of the time when the elimination took place, the place where the missiles are or were stationed, etc. The center serves to announce the inspections. In brief, all the information which one of the sides wants to have (or to pass on) passes through our hands. The center operates on a 24-hour basis.

[Kazda] In conclusion: What is your overall evaluation of the fulfillment of the treaty on missile elimination?

[Medvedev] The treaty is being implemented successfully—in full harmony with the letter of the treaty documents.

[Kazda] I thank you for the interview. [passage omitted]

### Military Finance Experts Meet in Bucharest

*LD0712132588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Dec (TASS)—A meeting of a group of experts on military expenditure from the Warsaw Pact member states took place in the Romanian capital 6-7 December. Representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia took part in the meeting, which took place in a business-like and friendly atmosphere.

### Pact Experts Discuss Security in North

*LD0712150088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (TASS)—Experts from the Warsaw Pact member states have examined certain aspects of activity by the allied states aimed at strengthening trust and security in the north. A meeting of their working group took place in Moscow 6-7 December.

### Batalin, Construction Officials Confer

*LD0712084988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Construction Industry Conference"]

[Text] A meeting took place 5 December between leaders of construction industry ministries and departments of socialist countries and Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, at which they discussed questions of further developing and deepening cooperation between construction industry workers.

### CEMA Light Industry Commission Meets

*PM2911103188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Commission's Work"]

[Text] Berlin, 26 Nov—The 51st session of the CEMA standing commission on cooperation in the field of light industry was held here 22 through 25 November. Taking part were delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. D. Zagasbalden [name as transliterated], CEMA deputy secretary, took part in the session.

The commission examined the progress in implementing measures stemming from the decisions of the CEMA countries' economic summit conference. It was noted that these measures are being implemented in accordance with the established deadlines. The session noted the successful progress in fulfilling the CEMA countries' program in the field of the development of Cuba's printing industry and a similar program was adopted for cooperation with Mongolia for 1989-1990.

The commission approved a work plan for 1989-1990. It specified the main avenues of the CEMA countries' scientific and technical cooperation for the period through 2000 aimed at developing new technologies and microprocessor and robot equipment in the light, timber processing, and printing industries.

A mutual consultation among leaders of the delegations was held on the subject of "economic autonomy and economic responsibility of enterprises for the production of light industry articles in accordance with consumer demand" and there was a discussion of other questions of cooperation.

A meeting took place between H. Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of the delegations of the countries in the commission.

### Information Technology Center Established

*PM3011152988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the Republic of Cuba, Poland, the USSR, and the CSSR have signed an agreement to set up an International Information Technology and Electronics Center.

The International Information Technology and Electronics Center is an international economic organization performing its own work in the interests of its members. It is planned to have a flexible organizational structure making it possible to set up temporary science and technology collectives for solving certain tasks in the sphere of electronics, computers, and information technology on a contract basis.

The creation of the International Information Technology and Electronics Center is a new and improved form of cooperation among socialist countries on the basis of economic accountability. It will be able to develop economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with firms and organizations in other countries.

## Perfilyev Holds Moscow News Conference 7 Dec

### Upcoming Gorbachev UN Address

*LD0712134388 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming address at the session of the United Nations General Assembly today and his meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush arouse an immense interest around the world, which is illustrated by newspaper, radio and television reports, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

"With all the difference and shades of opinions in the pronouncements of political figures, the prevalent point of view in mass media is that the Soviet leader's visit will have a great and long-term impact on Soviet-U.S. relations and international relations as a whole. It is expected as something being taken for granted that Mikhail Gorbachev will come forward with new important initiatives on the main issues of world politics".

"All agree", the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out, "that his address at U.N. will be a development and concretization of the ideas of the new political thinking which corresponds to the current stage of perestroyka".

Conviction is being expressed that the Soviet Union will go on embodying the new thinking in specific proposals aimed at undoing the tangles. Practically no one has any doubt that the Soviet Union's new line with regard to the United Nations Organization and mechanisms of multilateral cooperation will receive a further development.

"On the whole, great expectations, hopes and aspirations for the consolidation and further development of positive, revitalizing processes, which are gathering momentum in Soviet-U.S. and international relations, are associated with the Soviet leader's visit and his upcoming address from the U.N. rostrum", the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry emphasised.

### Human Rights in UK

*LD0712143488 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—"The interest of the public in the USSR and Great Britain in the contents of relations between the two countries enhanced sharply in connection with the forthcoming Soviet-British summit", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing today. The positions of the sides and their approaches to numerous important international problems are being compared. Ever more areas of similar approaches are established. The policy and practice of the two countries in the area of ensuring fundamental human rights and liberties is also compared. "It must be said outright that this comparison is clearly not in London's favor", Perfilyev said.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that citizens of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, as well as human rights organisations of those countries have sent of late a great number of messages addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze, requesting that the release of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four be promoted. The Birmingham Six and Guildford Four are residents of Northern Ireland who were sentenced to life for alleged participation in terrorist actions in 1974 in which there was loss of life.

The conduct of the cases, the ways in which police obtained admissions of the defendants during interrogations, numerous contradictions in witnesses' testimonies cause justifiable questions and doubts about the justice of the sentences passed, Perfilyev said. Numerous demands for the revision of the cases of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four are made in Great Britain, also by politicians and public figures, members of Parliament.

The public movement for the revision of the sentences passed on the Birmingham Six and the Guilford Four is growing in the Soviet Union. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the British authorities were addressed more than once along official channels with the call to show a humane treatment to the convicts. Deplorably, the situation in this matter remains unsatisfactory.

"During the coming Soviet-British contacts we hope to receive the explanations which would ease our concern over the problem of the insurance of human rights in Great Britain. One would like to hope that the London officials will be able to analyze these cases objectively and the human drama lasting for about 15 years will finally be resolved," Vadim Perfilyev said in conclusion.

### Cited on Pakistan, Armenia

*LD0712170088 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—With all the distinctions and nuances in statements of politicians, the dominating idea expressed by mass media is that the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to New York, his speech at the session of the U.N. General Assembly and a meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush will make a great and lasting impact on Soviet-American relations and international relations in general, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, has stated.

He pointed out at a briefing here today that it is taken for granted that the Soviet leader will come up with new major initiatives on key problems of world politics which will help develop and specify the ideas of new political thinking.

Perfilyev pointed out in connection with the coming visit of Gorbachev to Cuba that deep and multi-faceted relations between the two countries covered almost all the sphere of public life and the national economy. "They are based on the identity of political systems, on principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs", he said.

At the same time, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that "even a high level of the two countries' relations does not mean absolute identity of their approaches to separate problems of world politics and to the realization of a foreign policy course. Each society, each nation and each country have their specific interests and characteristic features, which does not undermine in any way our cooperation, our friendship".

The Soviet leadership has received of late numerous messages from British and Irish nationals, as well as human rights organizations from those countries urging it to promote the release of the "Birmingham Six" and the "Guildford Four", Perfilyev continued. He pointed out that the way the cases had been handled and confessions had been obtained at police interrogation sessions, as well as numerous contradictions in evidence of witnesses gave rise to warranted doubts over the correctness of sentences passed on them.

"We hope that during th coming Soviet-British talks the Soviet side will be given explanations which would permit to ease our concern over the problem of ensuring human rights in Britain. We should like to hope that London will be able to impartially study those questions, and an end will finally be put to the tragedy of those people that has lasted for about 15 years", Perfilyev pointed out.

He said that the formation of a new administration would be completed in Pakistan in the coming days. "The Soviet Union welcomes the development of a democratic process in that country and expects it to make a postive impact on Pakistan's relations with neighbouring countries and to promote a political settlement of the Afghan problem in the spirit of the Geneva accords".

Touching upon the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan, Perfilyev said that settlers presented the most serious problem today. He pointed out that the main efforts exerted today were aimed at stopping the resettlement process.

### Media Briefed on Gorbachev's Cuba Visit

*LD0712224288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] In connection with the upcoming official visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Cuba, Soviet and foreign journalists were today informed in detail about the state of and prospects for development of the multifaceted links between the two countries at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. It was noted that USSR-Cuban relations are friendly. The common nature of their political systems is the basis for these relations, as are the principles of independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, and noninterference.

### Shevardnadze, Cordovez Discuss Afghanistan

*LD0812061788 Moscow TASS in English 0615 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, met here Ecuadoran Foreign Minister Diego Cordovez. During the meeting the sides examined some urgent regional problems, including the situation with the Afghan settlement. Cordovez who participated in the drafting of the Geneva understandings as a representative of the U.N. secretary general, expressed the hope that the new specific proposals on the Afghan question put forth in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly would open a way for a lasting and just settlement on the basis of a free will of the Afghan people.

Shevardnadze pointed to the need for the earliest normalization of the situation around and inside Afghanistan, including from the viewpoint of strengthening regional and international security, materialization of the emerging positive trends for a political settlement and national reconciliation.

### UN General Assembly Adopts Over 70 Resolutions

*LD0812102688 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly on Wednesday adopted over 70 resolutions on the entire spectrum of the issues of disarmament and comprehensive security. Delegates to its 43rd session declared loud and clear for removing the threat of a nuclear war, bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament, banning nuclear explosions, reducing conventional armaments, outlawing chemical weapons, and for vigorous efforts by the entire international community to remove the military threat from all directions on earth and in space.

The resolution on a comprehensive approach to consolidating world peace and security, which was adopted by 97 votes, became one of the all-important documents of the session. The international community expressed in it firm conviction that the ensurance of peace and security calls for concerted efforts and close cooperation of all states, relying on the U.N. Charter, to solve issues of critical importance in the following areas: disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts, international economic cooperation and development, protection of the environment, human rights and basic freedom.

The security system embodied in the U.N. Charter is a fundamental and indispensable mechanism for maintaining or restoring international peace and security. In this connection, all states are called upon to make a contribution to the international dialogue, above all within the framework of the United Nations Organisation, its Security Council, the General Assembly and their auxiliary bodies.

In the disarmament sphere the U.N. recommendations envisage, first and foremost, an urgent need to remove the threat of a nuclear war. This calls for concluding a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and a treaty on banning the use of nuclear weapons, on their freeze as an effective step toward precluding its piling up and modernization.

The United Nations welcomed the ratification and the beginning of the implementation of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and called upon the USSR and the United States to exert every effort in the interests of the entire mankind to conclude a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments as part of the process leading to a total elimination of nuclear weapons. It was stressed that bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament should shore up and complement each other.

The U.N. General Assembly adopted the resolution on preventing the arms race in space in the interests of maintaining international peace and security and promoting cooperation and mutual understanding.

The package of resolutions on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons reflected the world community's hope for possible progress in the efforts to protect mankind against chemical warfare. The conference on disarmament was recommended invigorating, as a priority objective, talks with a view to finalising within the shortest possible time work on a convention on a total and effective prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of all types of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

The international community supported the proposals for banning the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction, for measures to limit naval armaments and for disarmament in this field, and for the inadmissibility of military applications of advances in science and technology.

In several documents delegates to the session underscored the importance of verification and compliance with the agreements on arms limitation and disarmament, of impartial information on military issues, interdependence between disarmament and development, of creating nuclear-free zones in various areas of the globe.

The U.N. General Assembly adopted documents on the need for a productive political dialogue to ameliorate the international situation, effectively implement the declaration on enhancing international security and the preparation of societies for life in peace, on strengthening regional security, specifically security and cooperation in the Mediterranean region.

The positive tendencies in the field of real disarmament and promoting international security, which make their way more and more persistently, have contributed to the productive discussion of these vital issues at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly Session.

## Gorbachev Message to European Parliamentarians

*LD2611165388 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 26 Nov 88*

["Gorbachev's Message"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—Such a high forum signals a mutual tie and inter-dependence of the fortunes of states and nations—characteristic for our times. The growing community of interests of Europeans, multiplied by ages-long political experience, has born a need to work out collective approaches and a common search for solutions.

The Helsinki process was formed on exactly such grounds. The Vienna meeting now drawing to its end has a task of creating in all planes of this process—political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian—additional opportunities for good-neighbourly cooperation between all the participating states and—as we think—for the realization of the idea of "a common European home" which will permit an enriching of the life of nations, guaranteeing a future free from military-political confrontation, lowering the level of armaments and more fully releasing the potential for cooperation.

I wish the chairmen of the supreme representative bodies of the nations of Europe, the United States and Canada success in conducting the meeting and fruitful continuation of cooperation.

## Naval Commander Critical of U.S. Pacific Plans

*PM0712162388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Navy Commander in Chief, Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin: "Problems of the Pacific: Restraint Must Be Mutual"]

[Text] U.S. Administration spokesmen, and the Pentagon leadership in particular, have recently made statements about a growing Soviet threat in the Asian-Pacific region, resorting to all sorts of forgeries and fabrications in the process. Specifically, it is claimed that the USSR's total military expenditure and efforts on the modernization of nuclear and conventional arms, including the development [razvitiye] of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, have allegedly increased since the Soviet initiatives were put forward in Vladivostok in 1986, as a result of which the total number of the Pacific Fleet's ships and submarines has increased from 820 to 860. Similar statements have also been made by Japanese spokesmen.

All these claims have absolutely nothing to do with facts. They are based not on a sincere desire to objectively present a real picture of military confrontation in the Asian-Pacific region and to find ways to reduce it and consolidate pan-Asian security, but on attempts to discredit the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy and to depict the Soviet military doctrine as offensive and aggressive. Another objective is also being pursued: to justify their own actions, which are aimed at the utmost buildup of military preparations, to camouflage their pursuit of military superiority.

But what is the real picture of the state of USSR and U.S. naval forces in the Pacific zone?

In line with Soviet military doctrine, the nature of which is strictly defensive, our Armed Forces, including the Navy, are implementing a whole series of organizational, technical, and military-economic measures to restructure themselves on the basis of the principle of defense sufficiency. As a result, our Navy's size [sostav] has been reduced.

On 18 October 1988 the USSR delegation to the 43d UN General Assembly session officially submitted data on the USSR Navy. As of 1 July 1988, our fleet consisted of 1,380 warships and small combatant craft, including 4 aircraft carriers; 376 submarines; 96 cruisers, destroyers, and missile carrying frigates; 174 patrol ships (frigates) and small antisubmarine ships; 623 small combatant craft and minesweepers; and 107 landing ships and launches. In addition, the Navy's composition includes 1,142 combat aircraft and helicopters and 12,600 marines.

As regards the Soviet Pacific Fleet, its composition not only has not increased by 40 ships between 1984 and 1988, as Pentagon spokesmen claim, but has, on the contrary, been reduced by 57. The data cited by the U.S. Administration about the number of ships in the Pacific Fleet has been deliberately inflated by at least a factor of 2.

If we were to assess the USSR's naval activity in the Asian-Pacific region objectively and not for propaganda purposes, it would be easy to perceive that the Soviet Pacific Fleet's purpose is primarily to defend the Soviet Far East coastline. This is eloquently proven by its composition and structure. Specifically, almost one-half of the Pacific Fleet's submarines are diesel-powered while a sizeable proportion of surface forces is represented by small antisubmarine ships and minesweepers; in other words, ships meant to perform defense tasks in the coastal zone.

And now let us take a look at the composition of the U.S. Navy in the Pacific and especially its western part. Here, close to the Soviet Union's territory, the grouping of U.S. Armed Forces numbers about 150,000 men, more than 1,200 aircraft, and about 50 warships. The basis of the U.S. Pacific Fleet's strike power is made up of 7 aircraft carriers with more than 600 aircraft on board, over 230 of which carry nuclear weapons. The carrier-based attack aircraft are capable of delivering nuclear strikes at a depth of up to 1,000 km inside Soviet territory.

The U.S. Armed Forces command in the Pacific zone is constantly improving the sea-launched strategic offensive forces. The constitution of the 17th SSBN Squadron, made up of eight "Ohio" class submarines armed with "Trident-1" ballistic missiles, has been completed, and measures are being implemented to further boost the fleet's strike capability, mainly by upgrading and replacing the ship composition and equipping the naval forces with "Tomahawk" long-range cruise missiles. Furthermore, warships in the general purpose forces are being equipped with "Tomahawk" cruise missiles fitted not only with conventional but also with nuclear warheads meant to destroy coastal targets. Two such ships (the guided missile cruiser "Bunker Hill" and the destroyer "Fife") took up permanent station in Yokosuka in August.

The active operations by major U.S. Navy groupings in the northwest Pacific are linked with rehearsals of the so-called "new naval strategy" which is designed, in the event of military actions, to blockade the Soviet Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Bering Sea, and subsequently to destroy it and deliver strikes against military and economic targets in the Far East and Siberia. For example, an analysis of exercises conducted 1984-1988 shows a significant increase in the operational training of U.S. forces in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Far East coastline. The purpose of this was to rehearse tasks of gaining domination in regions directly adjacent to Kamchatka, the Kuril Islands, Sakhalin, and Maritime Kray. The areas where exercises were most actively conducted were the west and north Pacific in the approaches to Kamchatka, the

Sea of Japan, and the Sea of Japan straits. For example, a total of three aircraft carrier task forces and an operational missile force headed by a battleship armed with "Tomahawk" cruise missiles took part in the "Fleetex" exercise in the fall of 1986. In the process, two aircraft carrier task forces and the operational missile force operated in the direction of Kamchatka and in areas adjacent to the Soviet Maritime Kray. During the exercises, carrier aviation aircraft rehearsed the delivery of strikes against targets on Soviet territory.

Implementing its concept of "forward maritime borders," the U.S. command extended in 1987 the zone of the 3d Fleet's responsibility, which until then spread over the east and central part of the ocean, to cover also the areas adjacent to the Kamchatka Peninsula. Aircraft carriers, battleships, and missile-carrying ships supported by strategic aviation started regularly making their way there. One of their main tasks is to deliver mass strikes against ground targets on USSR territory and against naval ships using Navy and Air Force aviation and long-range sea- and air-launched cruise missiles.

In order to develop [dlya razvitiya] the success of such strikes, the U.S. Navy is rehearsing amphibious landings to capture sections of the continental coastline or individual islands. For example, there was a large amphibious landing on the Aleutian Islands—for the first time since World War II—by way of rehearsing elements of an amphibious landing operation in northern conditions during the "Fortress-Gale 87" exercises of the U.S. Navy, Air Force, and Army. It must be clear to everyone that Kamchatka can also be the target of such landings.

The U.S. command does not limit itself to conducting large-scale exercises close to the Soviet Union's territory. It also undertakes direct provocations. An example of this can be seen in the violation of USSR territorial waters off the Kamchatka coast by the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser "Arkansas" in May 1987.

In 1988, and in the course of exercises close to Soviet territory, U.S. aircraft carrier task forces entered the Sea of Japan on five occasions. Even during the Seoul Olympics, under the pretext of ensuring the games' security, two aircraft carrier task forces headed by the aircraft carriers "Nimitz" and "Midway" constantly maneuvered in the southern part of the Sea of Japan, thus creating even greater tension in the Korean Peninsula zone. By way of comparison, it must be noted that, with a view to reducing military activities during the Olympic Games, the Soviet command deemed it possible to postpone previously planned exercises in the Sea of Japan until a later date.

In building up its military presence in the Pacific zone and stepping up its naval activity, the United States relies extensively on its allies, and primarily on Japan which, in size of military expenditure, could already take a leading position in the world during the next 1-2 years. The United States makes extensive use of military bases on the territory of Japan, the Philippines, and South Korea. The Americans see joint exercises as offering an opportunity to intensify military cooperation with countries in the region, to consolidate the combat might of its forces stationed in the region, and consequently to weaken the influence of Soviet proposals on the creation of a zone of peace, mutual trust, and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. Tension in the Asian-Pacific region could be further increased by the "largest maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean's history" to be held in September-October next year under the codename "Pacex," as announced by the Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN.

An important position in the system of bilateral relations between the United States and Japan is occupied by military-technical cooperation, which is most extensively manifested in the supply of Japan's Armed Forces, and especially its Navy, with U.S. weapons and combat equipment. For example, Japan's Navy at present has about 70 submarines, surface ships, and aircraft equipped with the U.S. "Harpoon" anti-ship missile. The number of these carriers could increase to 120 by 1990.

The Japanese command has at its disposal more than 50 destroyers, which is twice as many as the U.S. 7th Fleet in the Pacific. It is planned to deploy in the next few years about 100 "Orion" class antisubmarine aircraft on bases in the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Maritime Kray. On the whole, according to Pentagon estimates, Japan's military potential coupled with U.S. strategic systems and general purpose forces pose a real threat in the Far East to the Soviet Union and other countries in the region. All this destabilizes the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and creates mistrust and suspicion.

The peoples in countries in the Asian-Pacific region cannot but also be worried by the Pentagon's use of the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines, which services up to 70 U.S. ships a month and has nuclear weapon dumps. The U.S. military facilities and troops located on the territory of countries in Asia and the Pacific infringe the national sovereignty of these countries and are a source of military danger in this part of the globe.

Even the U.S. press admits that the U.S. Armed Forces, by their composition, infrastructure, and training, have a clearly expressed offensive nature. And if we were to talk about growing military threat in the Asian-Pacific region, it does not originate in the Soviet Union.

Our country firmly and consistently advocates the consolidation of pan-Asian security, the reduction of the level of military confrontation, and the curbing of the activeness of naval activities. It was for this purpose that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, put forward in his Vladivostok speech constructive proposals which received their logical development in the Krasnoyarsk speech in the fall of 1988. The

USSR is prepared to constructively conduct a multilateral dialogue, taking into account the circumstances, traditions, and realities existing in this part of the globe.

For the purpose of establishing mutual trust between the United States and the USSR, it is planned to hold a series of meetings between the leadership of the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces in 1989-1990, including at the level of both countries' naval commands. For example, a visit by the U.S. Navy's chief of naval operations to the Soviet Union is planned for the fall of 1989, while the USSR navy commander is due to visit the United States in the summer of 1990. We are prepared, in the course of these and other meetings and visits, to discuss our military doctrines with the leadership of the U.S. Armed Forces. Furthermore, in our opinion, in the course of these discussions it could be possible to conduct an exchange of more detailed official data about the composition of the naval forces of both states and the nature and orientation of their activity. One need not be a great specialist to realize that the military might of fleets is not determined only by the quantity of ships and aircraft. It depends on many factors, including armaments, the development of the basing system, the preparation of the theaters of combat operations, and others. Therefore, in the course of mutual contacts, it could be possible to define common terms and criteria for evaluating these and other factors of the combat might of the sides' naval forces.

At the same time, the Soviet Union—addressing proposals for the development of measures to build confidence and ease tension in the region to the countries in the Asian-Pacific region—has already and unilaterally taken a number of practical steps to reduce the level of its own naval activeness. Specifically, the areas for exercises by the Pacific Fleet have in the last few years been limited to just the waters of the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk. Exercises in the Pacific were conducted in the approaches to Kamchatka and in the immediate vicinity of the USSR coastline. Our ships and aircraft did not rehearse operations to deliver strikes against targets on other states' territories. The orientation of these exercises is strictly defensive.

This restraint by the Soviet Union did not pass unnoticed by the governments and public in countries in the Asian-Pacific region. The reduced activeness of the Soviet Pacific Fleet was noted by Australia's prime minister, leading figures from ASEAN countries, and many mass media abroad.

Our country is thus demonstrating in practice its readiness to establish and develop mutual trust, to ease tension, and to implement the large-scale program for consolidating pan-Asian security put forward by M.S. Gorbachev. We are ready to discuss around the table of peaceful talks all aspects of this generally complex problem. But, as people say, every journey begins with a single step. We are awaiting our partner's agreement to embark on this joint path toward stable and secure peace in the region.

## Bucharest Meeting Held on Black Sea Pollution

*PM0712142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*4 Dec 88 First Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Vedrashko under the "Ecology" rubric: "A Clean Black Sea"]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Dec—"The Black Sea will die in 10-15 years if urgent joint measures are not taken," participants in a meeting in Bucharest stated.

A conference of experts from four Black Sea countries—Bulgaria, Romania, the USSR, and Turkey—was held here 29-30 November to prepare an international convention to protect and preserve the maritime environment of the Black Sea. Work in this direction was started on the initiative of Bulgaria and the USSR back in 1969. The urgency of decisive measures is now obvious. The experts, in particular, drew up two lists. A "black list" naming substances and products whose discharge into the sea is completely prohibited and a "gray list" giving those whose discharge is allowed only on the authorization of the competent national organ. The partners are working strenuously. Their next meeting takes place in Ankara in March. It is expected that the signing of the convention will then follow. The Black Sea beaches in all four countries will then—and without enforced interruptions—be full of vacationers and the dolphins will splash peacefully among its waves.

## United States & Canada

### Coverage of Gorbachev United Nations Visit

#### Correspondent Previews Visit

*LD0712133088 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Report from correspondent in New York, Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Excerpts] On his arrival at JFK Airport, Mikhail Gorbachev made a statement in which he expressed gratitude to the United Nations for the opportunity to share the Soviet Union's views and values for the world community. [passage omitted]

On the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival here, there was no end of guesswork as to what kind of proposals he is going to make at the United Nations. Some journalists went as far as to suggest that Moscow would like to take an advantage of the United States by trying to impress the world community with its global agenda at a time when the White House is in transition, and therefore is unable to respond in kind, being preoccupied with formulating its own agenda. However, with the United Nations now playing an increasingly important role, it is only natural that matters pertaining to global issues that affect the whole family of nations should be taken through this world forum.

As far as bilateral issues are concerned, U.S.-Soviet trade is likely to become a vital topic. And of course one of the most crucial issues is undoubtedly the policy of glasnost and perestroyka. Despite the difficulties, the new policy is taking root, and this is admitted by even some of the staunchest sceptics here.

The other day I was out in the streets of New York with a television crew, doing interviews with New Yorkers. I was pleasantly surprised by the show of warmth and interest in my country and in Mikhail Gorbachev, who is extremely popular in the United States. Welcome, Mr Gorbachev; this sign greeted the Soviet president at the airport. Judging by the mood across the nation, it is not a protocol kind of greetings. The feelings are deep and sincere.

#### Gorbachev Arrives at UN

*LD0712150888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York, 7 Dec (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has arrived at the UN Headquarters to speak to the 43d session of its General Assembly. He was met at the entrance by Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general.

#### Talks With Perez de Cuellar

*LD0712152288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York, 7 Dec (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has arrived at the UN Headquarters to make a speech at the 43d session of its General Assembly. At the entrance, M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbachev were met by Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations, and his wife. After a short solemn ceremony in the foyer of the headquarters decorated with the state flag of the USSR and the light blue flag of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar took the Soviet leader to his office, where they held a conversation.

#### Meets With Argentina's Caputo

*LD0812114988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York—On the morning of 7 December, prior to speaking at the United Nations, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with Dante Caputo, chairman of the 43d UN General Assembly session, and the Argentine foreign minister.

In welcoming the eminent guest, Caputo noted the significance of the new political thinking in Soviet foreign policy in shaping the positive processes which have begun in the world, and which have been noticeably reflected in the progress of the current General Assembly session.

During the course of a brief conversation, certain results of cooperation in the sphere of disarmament and in a settlement to international conflicts were appraised. Caputo emphasized the urgency of increasing the efforts of the world community in tackling the economic problems of the Third World. Referring to the new opportunities which had opened up before the United Nations of late, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke out in favor of consolidating positive moves and building up international interaction in world affairs.

Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and Belonogov were present during the conversation.

#### Enters UN General Assembly Hall

*LD0712160888 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—After a conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Soviet leader, accompanied by the U.N. secretary-general, paid a visit to the president of the 43rd session of the General Assembly, Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo.

The three then proceeded into the hall of sessions of the General Assembly. The emergence of Gorbachev in the hall was greeted with stormy applause.

The chief of protocol led Gorbachev to the chair designated for heads of state.

## Commences UN Speech

*LD0712162788 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has started his speech at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

This is the first time in the United Nations history that the head of the Soviet state addresses the international community from its rostrum.

## M.S. Gorbachev's United Nations Address

*PM0812131188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1,2*

[Address by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 43d UN General Assembly session, entitled "M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at the UN Organization"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed Mr Secretary General, esteemed delegates. We have arrived here to express our respect for the United Nations Organization, which is ever increasingly displaying its ability to be a unique international center in the service of peace and security. We have arrived here to express our respect for the dignity of this organization, capable of accumulating the collective reason and will of mankind. Events are increasingly confirming the world's need for such an organization. In its turn, the organization needs the active participation of all its members in supporting its initiatives and actions, and in enriching its activity by their potential and original contribution. Somewhat over a year ago, in the article "The Reality and Guarantees of a Safe World," I set out a number of thoughts concerning the problems within the scope of the United Nations Organization. The time that has passed has given new food for thought. A turning point has come, indeed, in the development of world events.

The Soviet Union's role in world affairs is well known, and taking into account the revolutionary restructuring that is taking place in our country, and which contains a colossal potential for peace and international cooperation, we are particularly interested in being understood correctly. Therefore, we are here to share our thoughts within the walls of this most prestigious world organization, and to let the organization be the first to learn about our new important decisions.

### I.

In what shape will mankind enter the 21st century? Thoughts about this already not-so-distant future are on people's minds.

We are peering into this future, expecting better things, but at the same time with anxiety. The world in which we live today is radically different from how it was early in, or even in the middle of, the present century. And it is continuing to change in all its constituent parts. The appearance of nuclear weapons has, in a tragic way, only emphasized the fundamental nature of these changes. As the material symbol and the carrier of absolute military force, it has at the same time also laid bare the absolute limits of this force. The problem of the survival, of the self-preservation of mankind, has arisen in all its magnitude.

Very profound social changes for the better are taking place. Hundreds of millions of people, be they in the East or in the South, in the West or in the North, new nations and states, new social movements and ideologies have moved to the front of the historical stage. In large-scale, not infrequently stormy people's movements, the surge toward independence, democracy, and social justice is expressed in all its many aspects and contradictoriness. The idea of the democratization of the entire world order has turned into a mighty sociopolitical force.

At the same time the scientific-and-technical revolution has turned many problems—economic, food, energy, ecological, informational and demographic—which not so long ago we dealt with as national or regional ones—into global problems. Thanks to the latest means of communications, mass information, and transportation, the world has, as it were, become more visible and perceptible for everyone. International contact has been simplified in an unprecedented way. Today it is hardly possible to preserve some sort of "closed" societies. This requires a decisive revision of views on all problems of international cooperation as a major element of universal security.

The world economy is becoming a single organism, outside of which not a single state can develop normally, whatever social system it belongs to or whatever economic level it has reached. This puts the drafting of a fundamentally new mechanism for the functioning of the world economy, for a new structure for the international division of labor, on the agenda. At the same time the growth of the world economy exposes the contradictions and limits of industrialization of the traditional type. Its further spread "in breadth and depth" threatens an ecological catastrophe. However, there are still many countries where industry is not sufficiently developed, while others have not yet left the preindustrial stage. Whether the process of their economic growth will follow the old technological patterns, or whether they will be able to join in the search for clean production, from the ecological point of view, is a major problem.

Another problem is that the gap between developed countries and the majority of developing ones is failing to narow, and is becoming an every greater threat on a global scale. This makes it necessary to begin searching for a fundamentally new types of industrial progress, the type which would correspond to the interests of all peoples and states. In a word, new realities are changing the entire world situation. The differences and oppositions inherited from the past are being alleviated or removed. But new ones are appearing. Some former disagreements and arguments are losing their significance. Their place is being taken by conflicts of another sort.

Life is making us give up customary stereotypes, obsolete views, and free ourselves from illusions. The very concept of the character and criteria of progress is changing. It would be naive to think that it is possible to tackle the problems tormenting modern humanity with the aid of the means and methods which were used, or seemed suitable, before.

Yes, humanity has accumulated very rich experience in political, economic, and social development in the most diverse conditions. But it derives from the practice and the make-up of the world which have already disappeared, or are already disappearing, into the past. Therein lies one of the signs of the crucial nature of the present stage of history.

The greatest philosophers have tried to comprehend the laws of social development and to find answers to the main question: How to make man's life happy, just, and safe. Two great revolutions, the French revolution of 1789 and the Russian revolution of 1917, have exerted a powerful influence on the actual nature of the historical process and radically changed the course of world events. Both of them, each in its own way, have given a gigantic impetus to man's progress. They are also the ones that have formed in many respects the way of thinking which is still prevailing in the public consciousness.

That is a very great spiritual wealth, but there emerges before us today a different world, for which it is necessary to seek different roads toward the future, to seek—relying, of course, on accumulated experience—but also seeing the radical differences between that which was yesterday and that which is taking place today.

The newness of the tasks, and at the same time their difficulty, are not limited to this. Today we have entered an era when progress will be based on the interests of all mankind. Consciousness of this requires that world policy, too, should be determined by the priority of the values of all mankind.

The history of the past centuries and millennia has been a history of almost ubiquitous wars, and sometimes desperate battles, leading to mutual destruction. They occurred in the clash of social and political interests and national hostility, be it from ideological or religious incompatibility. All that was the case, and even now many still claim that this past—which has not been overcome—is an immutable pattern. However, parallel with the process of wars, hostility, and alienation of peoples and countries, another process, just as objectively conditioned, was in motion and gaining force: The process of the emergence of a mutually connected and integral world.

Further world progress is now possible only through the search for a consensus of all mankind, in movement toward a new world order. We have arrived at a frontier at which uncontrolled spontaneity leads to a dead end. The world community must learn to shape and direct processes in such a way as to preserve civilization, to make it safe for all and more pleasant for normal life. It is a question of cooperation that could be more accurately called "cocreation" and "codevelopment." The formula of development "at another's expense" is becoming outdated. In light of present realities, genuine progress by infringing upon the rights and liberties of man and peoples, or at the expense of nature, is impossible.

The very tackling of global problems requires a new "volume" and "quality" of cooperation by states and sociopolitical currents regardless of ideological and other differences.

Of course, radical and revolutionary changes are taking place and will continue to take place within individual countries and social structures. This has been and will continue to be the case, but our times are making corrections here, too. Internal transformational processes cannot achieve their national objectives merely by taking "courses parallel" with others without using the achievements of the surrounding world and the possibilities of equitable cooperation. In these conditions, interference in those internal processes with the aim of altering them according to someone else's prescription would be all the more destructive for the emergence of a peaceful order. In the past, differences often served as a factor in pulling away from one another. Now they are being given the opportunity to be a factor in mutual enrichment and attraction. Behind differences in social structure, in the way of life, and in the preference for certain values, stand interests. There is no getting away from that, but neither is there any getting away from the need to find a balance of interests within an international framework, which has become a condition for survival and progress. As you ponder all this, you come to the conclusion that if we wish to take account of the lessons of the past and the realities of the present, if we must reckon with the objective logic of world development, it is necessary to seek—and to seek jointly—an approach toward improving the international situation and building a new world. If that is so, then it is also worth agreeing on the fundamental and truly universal prerequisites and principles for such activities. It is evident, for example, that force and the threat of force can no longer be, and should not be instruments of

foreign policy. This applies, in the first instance, to nuclear weapons, but it goes further than that. Everyone, and the strongest in the first instance, is required to restrict himself, and to exclude totally the use of external force. That is the first vital component of a nonviolent world as an ideal we declared, together with India, in the Delhi Declaration, and which we invite others to follow. Moreover, it is clear today that the stepping-up of military force does not make any single power all-powerful. Moreover, a one-sided emphasis on military force, in the final analysis, weakens other components of national security.

The compelling necessity of the principle of **freedom of choice** is also clear to us. The failure to recognize this, to recognize it, is fraught with very dire consequences, consequences for world peace. Denying that right to the peoples, no matter what the pretext, no matter what words are used to conceal it, means infringing upon even the unstable balance that it has been possible to achieve.

Freedom of choice is a universal principle to which there should be no exceptions. We have not come to the conclusion of the immutability of this principle simply through good motives. We have been led to it through impartial analysis of the objective processes of our time. The **increasing varieties** of social development in different countries are becoming an ever more perceptible feature of these processes. This relates to both the capitalist and socialist systems. The variety of sociopolitical structures which has grown over the last decades from national liberation movements also demonstrates this. This objective fact presupposes respect for other people's views and stands, tolerance, a preparedness to see phenomena that are different as not necessarily bad or hostile, and an ability to learn to live side by side while remaining different and not agreeing with one another on every issue.

The self-assertion of the world's diversity makes attempts to look down on others and teach them "one's own" democracy untenable, not to mention the fact that democratic values "made for export" often lose their value very quickly. Thus, the question is of unity in diversity. If we state this in the political sphere, if we confirm that we adhere to freedom of choice, then the idea that certain people live on Earth by ""divine will" while others are here purely by accident will be discarded. It is time to get rid of such complexes and to construct one's political line correspondingly. Then prospects for strengthening world unity also will open up.

The de-ideologization of interstate relations has become a demand of the new stage. We are not giving up our convictions, philosophy, or traditions. Neither are we calling on anyone else to give up theirs. Yet we are not going to shut ourselves up within the range of our values. That would lead to spiritual impoverishment, for it would mean renouncing so powerful a source of development as sharing all the original things created independently by each nation. In the course of such sharing, each should prove the advantages of his own system, his own way of life and values, but not through words or propaganda alone, but through real deeds as well. That is, indeed, an honest struggle of ideology, but it must not be carried over into mutual relations between states. Otherwise we simply will not be able to solve a single world problem; arrange broad, mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation between peoples; manage rationally the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution; transform world economic relations; protect the environment; overcome underdevelopment; or put an end to hunger, disease, illiteracy, and other mass ills. Finally, in that case, we will not manage to eliminate the nuclear threat and militarism.

Such are our reflections on the natural order of things in the world on the threshold of the 21st century. We are, of course, far from claiming to have the infallible truth, but having subjected the previous realities—realities that have arisen again—to strict analysis, we have come to the conclusion that it is by precisely such approaches that we must search jointly for a way to achieve the **supremacy of the common human idea** over the countless multiplicity of centrifugal forces, to preserve the vitality of a civilization that is possibly the only one in the universe.

Is there not here a certain romanticism, an exaggeration of the potential and maturity of public awareness in the world? We hear such doubts and questions both at home and from some of our Western partners. I am convinced that we are not losing touch with reality. Forces already have formed in the world which one way or another are inducing the **start of a period of peace.** The peoples, broad circles of the public, really and earnestly want a change for the better in the state of affairs. They want to learn to cooperate. Sometimes it is even striking how strong this trend is. It is important for this sort of mood to begin to be transformed into policy. The change both in philosophical approaches and in political relations is an important prerequisite, providing a powerful spur to efforts directed at establishing new relations between states by relying on objective processes on a world scale. The corresponding conclusions are being made even by those politicians whose activity was at one time connected with the "cold war", sometimes at its most acute stages. From their experience of those times, they, of all people, find it especially difficult to renouce sterotypes. And if even they are making such an about-turn, then it is obvious that with the coming of new generations, the possibilities will be greater still.

In short, understanding the need for a period of peace is making a way for itself and becoming the dominant trend. As a result, the first real steps in improving the international situation and in disarmament have become possible. What arises from this on a practical level? The natural, wise thing would be not to renounce that which is positive, which we have already attained, but to advance all that is positive, that has been achieved in recent years, created by joint efforts. I mean the process

of talks on the problems of nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, chemical weapons, the search for political ways of halting regional conflicts. And, of course, first and foremost, political dialogue, which is more intensive, more open, and targeted at the heart of problems and not on confrontation, at an exchange not of accusations but of constructive ideas. Without political dialogue, the talks' process will not proceed. In our view, there are sufficiently optimistic prospects for the near and the more remote future. Look how our relations with the United States have changed: Little by little mutual understanding has started to be built up, elements of trust have arisen, without which it is very difficult to move forward in politics. There are even more of these elements in Europe. The Helsinki process is a great process; in my opinion it remains fully in force. It must be preserved and deepened in all aspects—the philosophical, political, and practical aspects—but must take into account the new circumstances.

The realities are now such that to have a dialogue which ensures the normal and constructive progress of the international process requires the constant, active participation of all countries and regions of the world, of those of great magnitude such as India, China, Japan, and Brazil, and of others, large, medium, and small.

I am in favor of making the political dialogue more dynamic, for it being full of content, for reinforcing the political prerequisites essential for improving the international atmosphere. Then the practical solution of many problems would also be facilitated. It is a difficult matter, but it is essential to move along precisely that road. Everyone should take part in moving toward more unity in the world. This is particularly important now, because a very important time is starting, a time when the issue of ways of ensuring world solidarity, stability, and the dynamic nature of international relations, is being put on the agenda.

However, while talking to foreign statesmen and politicians—and I have had over 200 such conversations—I could feel sometimes their dissatisfaction over the fact that during this extremely crucial stage, for some reason or other, they find themselves sometimes standing aside, as it were, from the main questions of world politics. It is natural and correct that no one wants to be reconciled to this. If we are parts, though different ones, of one and the same civilization, if we understand the interdependence of the modern world, this must also be present ever more in politics, in practical efforts aimed at the harmonization of international relations.

Perhaps the term "restructuring" is not very suitable in this case. But I am, indeed, advocating **new international relations.** I am convinced that the times and the realities of the modern world demand that a stake is placed on the **internationalization** of dialogue and negotiating process. This is the **main generalizing conclusion** that we have reached from our study of world processes, which lately have been gathering strength, and from our participation in world politics.

## II.

In this specific historical situation, the question of the new role of the UN Organization is also arising. It seems to us that it is necessary for states to rethink somewhat their attitude to such a unique instrument as the United Nations Organization, without which world politics is no longer imaginable.

The recent galvanization of its peacemaking role has again demonstrated the United Nation's ability to help its members in coping with the threatening challenges of the times, and in following the path of the humanization of relations. [Moscow Television Service, in its broadcast of this speech at 1607 GMT on 7 December, omits the passage starting in the last sentence of the previous paragraph from "without which world" through "United Nation's ability" in the preceding sentence] Unfortunately, right after it was set up, it found itself under the onslaught of the "cold war." It became for many years a field for propaganda battles and for cultivating political confrontation. Let historians argue about who is more and who is less to blame for this, while the politicians today must learn the lessons of this chapter in the history of the UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS, which has contradicted the actual essence and intention of the UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS.

One of the bitterest and most important lessons is the long list of missed opportunities and, as a consequence, a reduction at some stage in the prestige of the UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS, the failure of many of its attempts to act. What is very indicative is that the rebirth of the UN Organization's role is connected with improvements in the international climate. The UN Organization is absorbing, as it were, the interests of various countries. It is the only organization which is able to combine in one stream their bilateral, regional, and all-embracing efforts. New opportunities are opening up for it in all spheres, which become naturally part of the Un Organization's competence: Military-political, economic, scientific and technical, ecological, and humanitarian opportunities.

Take, for example, the **problem of development.** This is a problem which is truly common to all mankind. The living conditions of tens of millions of people in a number of regions in the "Third World" are simply becoming dangerous for all mankind. No closed formations or regional groups of states, however important they are, are able to untie the main knots which have formed on the principle lines of world economic ties: North-South, East-West, South-South, South-East, and

East-East. Combined efforts are needed here. The interests of all groups of countries needs to be taken into account, and only such an organization as the United Nations is capable of ensuring this.

**Foreign debt** is one of the most acute problems. Let us not forget that, at the cost of incalculable losses and sacrifices in the colonial era, the developing world aided the prosperity of a considerable part of the world community. The time has come to give compensation for the deprivations which accompanied its historic and tragic contribution made to world material progress. The way out—we are convinced—lies also in **internationalizing the method of approach.** Looking at things realistically, we must recognize that the accumulated debt cannot be either repaid or recovered on the original conditions. The Soviet Union is prepared to establish a lengthy moratorium—right up to 100-year—on the repayment of debts from the least developed countries, and in a whole series of cases to write them off entirely.

Regarding **the other developing countries,** we invite the examination of the following: The payments on their official debt should be limited, depending on the indices of economic development for each of them, or a protracted deferment should be declared on a considerable proportion of the payments; the appeal by UNCTAD on reducing debts to commercial banks should be supported; and government support for settling the debts of the "Third World" by the market mechanism, including setting up a specialized international institution for buying up debts at a discount, should be ensured.

The Soviet Union advocates specific discussion of ways of settling the debt crisis at multilateral forums, including consultations of heads of government of debtor and creditor nations held under the aegis of the United Nations.

International economic security is unthinkable outside a link not only with disarmament but also with **identifying the worldwide ecological threat.** The ecological situation in a number of regions is simply appalling. A conference on the environment withing the UN framework is planned for 1992. We welcome this decision and are preparing for such a forum to produce results corresponding to the scale of the problem. But time does not wait, and a great deal is being done in various countries.

Here I should like yet again, and most forcefully, to stress the opportunities that are being opened up for ecological revival in the process of disarmament—above all, of course, nuclear disarmament. Let us also ponder whether a center for urgent ecological aid ought to be set up under UN auspices. Its functions would be to send international groups of specialists promptly to areas where there is a sharp deterioration in the ecological situation.

The USSR is also ready to cooperate in the creation of an international space laboratory or manned orbiting station which would be exclusively engaged in monitoring the environment.

Altogether the features of a future space industry are appearing ever more distinctly **in the conquest of space.** The USSR's position is well known: activity in space must rule out the placing of waepons there. This also requires a legal basis. The foundation for this already exists: the 1967 treaty, and other agreements. However, the need to elaborate an all-embracing regime for peaceful work in space has already come to a head; and verifying [Kontrol] the observation of the regime would be a matter for a world space organization. We have already suggested setting up such a body more than once. We are also prepared to include our Krasnoyarsk radar station within the system of that organization. The decision has already been taken to transfer that station to the USSR Academy of Sciences. Soviet scientists are prepared to receive foreign colleagues and to discuss with them how to reequip it as an international center for peaceful cooperation, dismantling and altering individual facilities and structures and also providing it with equipment which it lacks. This whole system could function under the aegis of the United Nations.

The whole world welcomes the efforts by the UN Organization and by Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and his representatives to solve **regional problems.** Allow me to dwell on this theme a while. Rephrasing the verse by the English poet that Hemingway took as the epigraph for his famous novel, let us say this: The bell of each regional conflict tolls for all of us. This is particularly true because these conflicts are occurring in the "Third World," which even without this has many troubles and problems on a scale which cannot fail to concern all of us.

The year 1988 brought a ray of hope in that area of our common concerns, too. It affected almost all regional crises and there are improvements in some places. We welcome them; we have encouraged them to the extent possible. I will dwell specifically just on Afghanistan. The Geneva Accords, the fundamental and practical importance of which was rated highly throughout the world, provided the opportunity to complete a settlement even this year, but that did not happen. This regrettable fact again recalls the political, legal, and moral significance of the ancient roman maxim: pacta sunt servanda—treaties must be fulfilled. I do not want to use this platform for reproaching anyone, but it seems to us that within the competence of the UNITED NATIONS, the November resolution of the General Assembly could have some specific measures added to it.

In the words of the resolution "For the Immediate Achievement of an All-Embracing Solution by the Afghans Themselves of the Question of a Broad-Based Government," the following should be undertaken:

A full cease-fire everywhere, beginning 1 January 1989, and a halt to all offensive operations or shellings, with all

territories occupied by opposing Afghan groups to remain under their respective control for the duration of the talks;

Linked to this and beginning on the same date, a halt to arms deliveries to all belligerent parties;

For the period of the establishment of the broad-based government envisaged in the General Assembly resolution, the sending to Kabul and other strategic centers in the country a contingent of UN peace-keeping forces.

We also appeal to the UN secretary general to foster the speediest possible implementation of the idea of holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

We will continue in the future to help in the most active way to heal the wounds of war. We are ready to cooperate in this matter both with the United Nations and on a bilateral basis.

We support the proposal to set up under UN auspices a volunteer international peace corps to assist in the rebirth of Afghanistan.

In connection with the problem of settling regional conflicts, I cannot fail to express my judgement on a serious incident that occurred very recently with regard to the work of this session. The representative of an organization having permanent-observer status at the United Nations was not admitted to New York by the U.S. authorites to speak at the General Assembly. I am talking about Yasir 'Arafat. And that took place at a time when the PLO has made an important and constructive step which facilitates the search for a solution to the Middle East problem with the participation of the UN Security Council. That happened at the moment a positive trend toward a political settlement of other regional conflicts had taken shape, and in a number of cases with assistance from the United States and the USSR. We express great regret over what has taken place, and also express our solidarity with the PIO.

Gentlemen, the concept of all-embracing international security is based on the principles of the UN charter, and proceeds from the obligatory nature of international law for all states. In favoring the demilitarization of international relations, we want to see politico-legal methods dominating in the solution of emerging problems. Our ideal is a world community of states based on the rule of law, which also make their foreign policy activity subordinate to the law. The attainment of this would be facilitated by an accord within the UN framework on a uniform understanding of the principles and norms of international law, and their codification, taking account of new conditions, and also the formulation of legal norms for new spheres of cooperation. In the conditions of the nuclear age, the efficacy of international law must rely not on coercion of execution, but on the norms reflecting the balance of interests of states.

Together with an increasing awareness of the objective commonality of fate, this would create a sincere interest for every state in restricting itself within the bounds of international law. The democratization of international relations is not only the maximum internationalization of the solution of problems by all members of the world community; it is also a humanization of those relations. International links will fully reflect the real interests of the peoples and reliably serve the cause of their common security only when man's concerns, rights, and liberties are at the center of everything. In this context, I would like to add my country's voice to the high assessments of the significance of the General Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago on 10 December 1948. This document is still topical today. It also reflected the universal nature of the aims and tasks of the United Nations. The most suitable way for a state to mark the declaration's anniversary is to improve its own conditions at home for the observance and defense of citizens' rights.

Before telling you precisely what we have done in this sphere recently, I would like to say the following: Our country is undergoing a truly revolutionary upsurge. The process of restructuring is gaining pace. We started by eleborating the theoretical concepts of restructuring; we had to assess the nature and scope of the problems, to interpret the lessons of the past, and to express this in the form of political conclusions and programs. This was done. The theoretical work, the reinterpretation of what had happened, the final elaboration, enrichment, and correction of political stances have not ended. They continue. However, it was fundamentally important to start from an overall concept, which is already now being confirmed by the experience of past years, which has turned out to be generally correct and to which there is no alternative.

In order to involve society in implementing the plans for restructuring it had to be made more truly democratic. Under the badge of democratization, restructuring has now encompassed politics, the economy, spiritual life, and ideology. We have unfolded a radical economic reform, we have accumulated experience, and from the new year we are transferring the entire national economy to new forms and work methods. Moreover, this means a profound reorganization of production relations and the realization of the immense potential of socialist property.

In moving toward such bold revolutionary transformations, we understood that there would be errors, that there would be resistance, that the novelty would bring new problems. We foresaw the possibility of braking in individual sections. However, the profound democraic reform of the entire system of power and government is the guarantee that the overall process of restructuring will move steadily forward and gather strength.

We completed the first stage of the process of political reform with the recent decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet on amendments to the Constitution and the

adoption of the Law on Elections. Without stopping, we embarked upon the second stage of this, at which the most important task will be working on the interaction between the central government and the republics, settling relations between nationalities on the principles of Leninist internationalism bequeathed to us by the great revolution and, at the same time, reorganizing the power of the soviets locally. We are faced with immense work. At the same time we must resolve major problems.

We are more than fully confident. We have both the theory, the policy, and the vanguard force of restructuring, a party which is also restructuring itself in accordance with the new tasks and the radical changes throughout society. And the most important thing: all peoples and all generations of citizens in our great country are in favor of restructuring.

We have gone substantially and deeply into the business of constructing a socialist state based on the rule of law. A whole series of new laws has been prepared or is at a completion stage. Many of them come into force as early as 1989, and we trust that they will correspond to the highest standards from the point of view of ensuring the rights of the individual. Soviet democracy is to acquire a firm, normative base. This means such acts as the Law on Freedom of Conscience, on glasnost, on public associations and organizations, and on much else. There are now no people in places of imprisonment in the country who have been sentenced for their political or religious convictions. It is proposed to include in the drafts of the new laws additional guarantees ruling out any form of persecution on these bases. Of course, this does not apply to those who have committed real criminal or state offences: espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and so on, whatever political or philosophical views they may hold.

The draft amendment to the criminal code are ready and waiting their turn. In particular, those articles relating to the use of the supreme measure of punishment are being reviewed. The problem of exit and entry is also being resolved in a humane spirit, including the case of leaving the country in order to be reunited with relatives. As you know, one of the reasons for refusal of visas is citizens' possession of secrets. Strictly substantiated terms for the length of time for possessing secrets are being introduced in advance. On starting work at a relevant institution or enterprise, everyone will be made aware of this regulation. Disputes that arise can be appealed under the law. Thus the problem of the so-called "refuseniks" is being removed.

We intend to expand the Soviet Union's participation in the monitoring mechanism on human rights in the United Nations and within the framework of the pan-European process. We consider that the jurisdiction of the International Court in the Hague with respect to interpreting and applying agreements in the field of human rights should be obligatory for all states.

Within the context of the Helsinki process, we also are examining an end to jamming of all foreign radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union. On the whole, our credo is as follows: Political problems should be solved only by political means, and human problems only in a humane way.

## III.

Now about the most important topic, without which no problem of the coming century can be resolved: **disarmament.**

International development and contacts have been deformed by the arms race and militarization of thinking.

On 15 January 1986 the Soviet Union put forward, as is known, a program for building a nuclear-free world. Its embodiment in real negotiating positions has already provided material results. Tomorrow is the first anniversary of the signing of the treaty scrapping intermediate and shorter-range missiles. With still greater satisfaction, I say that the implementation of that treaty—the destruction of the missiles—is proceeding normally, in an atmosphere of trust and efficiency. It would seem that a breach has been made in the impenetrable wall of suspicion and hostility. Before our eyes we are seeing a new historic reality arising, **a turnaround from the principle of over-abundance of weaponry to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.** We are present to see the first glimmers of the formation of a new model of ensuring security, not with the help of increasing weapons—as was almost always the case—but on the contrary through reducing them on the basis of compromise. The Soviet leadership has decided once again to demonstrate its readiness to strengthen this healthy process, not only in words, but in **deeds.**

Today I can inform you of the following: The Soviet Union has made a decision on reducing its armed forces. In the next 2 years, their numerical strength will be reduced by 500,000 persons, and the volume of conventional arms will also be cut considerably. These reductions will be made on a **unilateral basis,** unconnected with the negotiations on the mandate for the Vienna meeting. By agreement with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, we have made the decision to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and to disband them by 1991. Assault landing formations and units, and a number of others, including assault river-crossing forces, with their armaments and combat equipment, will also be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces situated in those countries. The Soviet forces situated in those countries will be cut by 50,000 persons, and their arms by 5,000 tanks. All remaining Soviet divisions on the territory of our allies will be reorganizeed. They will be given a different structure from today's, which will become unambiguously defensive, after the removal of a large number of their tanks.

At the same time, we will also cut the numbers of the personnel of our forces and the quantity of arms in the European part of the USSR. Altogether, in that part of our country and on the territory of our European allies, the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft.

Over these 2 years we will substantially reduce the grouping of armed forces in the Asian part of the country, too. By agreement with the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, a considerable part of the Soviet troops temporarily present there will return home. In adopting these decisions of fundamental importance, the Soviet leadership is voicing the will of a people engaged in an in-depth renewal of entire its socialist society. We will maintain our country's defense capability on a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one should find themselves tempted to infringe upon the security of the USSR and its allies.

By this act, just as by all our actions aimed at the demilitarization of international relations, we would also like to draw the attention of the world community to another topical problem, the problem of changing over from an economy of armament to an economy of disarmament. Is the conversion of miliary production realistic? I have already had occasion to speak about this. We believe that it is, indeed, realistic. For its part, the Soviet Union is ready to do the following. Within the framework of the economic reform we are ready to draw up and submit our internal plan for conversion, to prepare in the course of 1989, as an experiment, the plans for the conversion of two or three defense enterprises, to publish our experience of job relocation of specialists from the military industry, and also of using its equipment, buildings, and works in civilian industry. It is desirable that all states, primarily the major military powers, submit their national plans on this issue to the United Nations.

It would also be useful to form a group of scientists, entrusting it with a comprehensive analysis of problems of conversion as a whole and as applied to individual countries and regions, to be reported to the UN secretary general, and later to examine this matter at a General Assembly session. IV.

Finally, being on U.S. soil, but also for other, understandable reasons, I cannot but turn to the subject of our relations with this great country. I was able to fully appreciate its hospitality during my memorable visit to Washington exactly a year ago. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America span 5 and ½ decades. The world has changed, and so have the nature, role, and place of these relations in world politics. For too long they were built under the banner of confrontation, and sometimes of hostility, either open or concealed. But in the last few years, throughout the world people were able to heave a sigh of relief, thanks to the changes for the better in the substance and atmosphere of the relations between Moscow and Washington.

No one intends to underestimate the serious nature of the disagreements, and the difficulties of the problems which have not been settled. However, we have already graduated from the primary school of instruction in mutual understanding and in searching for solutions in our own and in the common interests. The USSR and the United States created the biggest nuclear missile arsenals, but after objectively recognizing their responsibility, they were able to be the first to conclude an agreement on the reduction and physical destruction of a proportion of these weapons, which threatened both themselves and everyone else.

Both sides possess the biggest and the most refined military secrets. But it is they who have laid the basis for and are developing a system of mutual verification with regard to both the destruction and the limiting and banning of armaments production. It is they who are amassing experience for future bilateral and multilateral agreements. We value this.

We acknowledge and value the contribution of President Ronald Reagan and the members of his administration, above all Mr George Shultz. All this is capital that has been invested in a joint undertaking of historic importance. It must not be wasted or left out of circulation. The future U.S. Administration headed by newly elected President George Bush will find in us a partner, ready—without long pauses and backward movements—to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness, and goodwill, and with a striving for concrete results, over an agenda encompassing the key issues of Soviet-U.S. relations and international politics.

We are talking first and foremost about consistent progress toward concluding a treaty on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, while retaining the ABM Treaty; about elaborating a convention on the elimination of chemical weapons—here, it seems to us, we have the preconditions for making 1989 the decisive year; and about talks on reducing coventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. We are also talking about economic, ecological and humanitarian problems in the widest possible sense.

It would be absolutely incorrect to credit the USSR and the United States alone for the positive changes in the international situation.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates the large and original contribution of the socialist countries to the process of improving the international situation. In the course of negotiations we constantly experience the presence of other major states, nuclear and non-nuclear. An indispensably important and constructive role is being played by many, including medium-sized and small countries, and of course by the Nonaligned Movement, as well as the intercontinental "Group of Six."

We in Moscow are delighted that an ever greater number of state, political, party, and public figures are ready to shoulder the burden of universal responsibility, and in particular I would like to mention the scientists, cultural figures, representatives of mass organizations and various churches, and activists of what is termed people's diplomacy. In this regard I think the idea of a regular convening of an assembly of public organizations under UN auspices merits attention.

We are not inclined to oversimplify the situation in the world. Yes, the tendency toward disarmament has received a strong impetus, and this process is gaining its own momentum, but it has not become irreversible. Yes, the striving to give up confrontation in favor of dialogue and cooperation has made itself strongly felt, but it has by no means secured its position forever in the practice of international relations. Yes, the movement toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is capable of fundamentally transforming the political and spiritual face of the planet, but only the very first steps have been taken. Moreover, in certain influential circles, they have been greeted with mistrust, and they are meeting resistance.

The inheritance and the inertia of the past are continuing to operate. Profound contradictions and the roots of many conflicts have not disappeared. The fundamental fact remains that the formation of the peaceful period will take place in conditions of the existence and rivalry of various socioeconomic and political systems. However, the meaning of our international efforts, and one of the key tenets of the new thinking, is precisely to impart to this rivalry the quality of sensible competition in conditions of respect for freedom of choice and a balance of interests. In this case it will even become useful and productive from the viewpoint of general world development; otherwise, if the main component remains the arms race, as it has been till now, rivalry will be fatal. Indeed, an ever greater number of people throughout the world, from the man in the street to leaders, are beginning to understand this.

Esteemed Mr Chairman, esteemed delegates: I finish my first speech at the United Nations with the same feeling with which I began it: a feeling of responsibility to my own people and to the world community. We have met at the end of a year that has been so significant for the United Nations, and on the threshold of a year from which all of us expect so much. One would like to believe that our joint efforts to put an end to the era of wars, confrontation and regional conflicts, aggression against nature, the terror of hunger and poverty, as well as political terrorism, will be comparable with our hopes. This is our common goal, and it is only by acting together that we may attain it. Thank you.

## Reactions to Gorbachev UN Speech Reported

### Shultz Welcomes Troop Reductions

*LD0812000988 Moscow TASS in English 2346 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Governors Island, New York December 8 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz put a high value on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's U.N. address on Wednesday.

Speaking here at a news conference following Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan, he said that the address had covered all the key issues on the international order of the day.

Describing the speech as very useful, Shultz said the U.S. Administration was going "to sit and study this out carefully".

He said the United States "welcomed" the Soviet decision to cut troops in Europe.

The U.S. secretary of state added that the meeting of the Soviet and U.S. leaders here had been "a kind of intermingling of substantive and cordial informal talk".

Commenting on the Soviet-U.S. relationship and East-West relations in general, he said the world had changed dramatically for the better and he liked that.

### Not Intended To Upstage U.S.

*LD0812110788 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Report from correspondent in New York, Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It is my understanding that the fears that the Soviet leader might be out to upstage the United States with his offers of (?big) troop reductions and the restructuring of the Armed Forces stationed outside for purely defensive purposes have not materialized. After all, the Soviet proposals have been made unilaterally and have been addressed not only to the United States but to other nations of Western Europe which had raised their concerns about Soviet superiority in conventional forces. Having made the first step in this direction, Moscow has committed itself to (?this line). Whether or not the example will be followed is a matter of time and, of course, of the other side's goodwill.

### Afghan Envoy Dest on Proposal

*LD0812095588 Moscow TASS in English 0113 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—By TASS correspondents:

Polish television has described Mikhail Gorbachev's U.N. address on Wednesday as the international event of the day.

Its prime time news show featured footage of the Soviet leader delivering key parts of his speech, including the announcement that the USSR has decided to cut its troops by 500,000 men over the next two years and scale down conventional armaments considerably as well.

Norwegian MP Teodor Korichinski, the Socialist Left Party's expert on foreign policy, said that NATO should offer a positive response to the unilateral Soviet reductions in armed forces.

Interviewed by Norwegian Television, he said a first step for NATO could be dropped plans to modernize nuclear forces in Europe.

Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans sat glued to their radio sets on Wednesday as Radio Sandino, one of the nation's most popular radio services, broadcast Gorbachev's speech in full.

It welcomed the Soviet leader's proposals on ways to solve many urgent international problems as important and serious. Commenting on Gorbachev's address, Shah Mohammad Dost, Afghan ambassador to the United Nations, had this to say in a TASS interview:

"In general it was an excellent statement—comprehensive and realistic and taking stock of the real situation prevailing in the world—identifying the ills in different spheres and suggesting ways and means to remedy them.

"On Afghanistan and the outcome of the Geneva Accords we share fully his views. We are holding the same position that had the provisions of the Geneva Accords been implemented in good faith by all parties concerned as the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have done, peace would have come earlier in our war-torn country.

"Stoppage of arms supply along with the ceasefire would positively affect the whole process. Any other measures helping the process of a comprehensive settlement would be welcomed by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan.

"My government fully shares the call for holding an international conference on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan.

"My government appreciates the selfless support of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan and expresses its deep gratitude to Comrade Gorbachev for his assurance of continuation of the Soviet Union's active assistance and preparedness to cooperate in this endeavour both with the U.N. and on a bilateral basis."

### United Nations Reception Held for Gorbachev

*LD0812052288 Moscow TASS in English 0510 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar Wednesday held a reception for visiting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa Gorbachev.

The reception was attended by Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Eduard Shevardnadze, a Politburo member and foreign minister of the USSR, and other officials accompanying them.

The president of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs and Faith Dante Caputo, prominent statesmen and politicians, businesspeople and public personalities from the United States and other countries, and the heads of diplomatic missions accredited at the United Nations were present as well.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Javier Perez de Cuellar exchanged speeches.

The U.N. secretary-general greeted the Gorbachevs on behalf of the United Nations in its headquarters. He said that at the United Nations they had been looking forward to the visit for long.

Perez de Cuellar added that it confirmed the Soviet Union's decisive support for the United Nations. He said Gorbachev's U.N. address had been remarkable for its vision and for the far-reaching proposals and decisions it contained.

The world, the U.N. secretary-general said, was entering a period that was rich in possibilities and hope, a period of creativity and promise, and world leaders were changing over from rivalry to partnership.

Perez de Cuellar said that Gorbachev had made an exceptional personal contribution to all that. He thanked him for this and wished the Gorbachevs and all Soviet people peace and well-being.

Gorbachev said in reply:

"Mr U.N. Secretary-General, esteemed Mrs de Cuellar, friends,

"Through you I greet representatives of the entire world community on behalf of the peoples of my country, the people who have set themselves challenging goals, started something very big and dedicated their whole lives and all their thoughts, energies and knowledge towards this end.

"I greet you on behalf of the Soviet people who are deeply committed to peace.

"Nothing in what was said from the U.N. rostrum today was either improvized or casual, those were ideas that had been considered carefully and painstakingly. And we wanted to put them across from the most representative rostrum in the world.

"We believe that the time has come for new, fruitful work by the United Nations.

"We shall on the principles of equality be making a constructive contribution to U.N. activities to improve international relations and strengthen cooperation among all nations.

"Thank you for the kind words you said both for me personally and for the Soviet Union, and for the high opinion of our policies. We shall be consistent. Thank you."

The representatives of the world community greeted Gorbachev's remarks with tumultous applause.

## Reports on Activities, Meeting With Reagan, Bush

### Comments on Upcoming Talks

*LD0812000488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived at the UN buildings an hour before his address to the delegates in the General Assembly. [passage omitted] [video shows motorcade; Gorbachev and Raisa arriving at UN Headquarters, met by Perez de Cuellar and his wife; the party goes up to the secretary general's office; Gorbachev presents a statue to the United Nations; the party proceeds to the General Assembly hall]

Following his address, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was asked by journalists about possible U.S. reactions to the new Soviet initiatives.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I will answer your question after we have talked with Mr Reagan, Mr Bush, and other U.S. leaders. I think we will maintain the dynamics that our relations have attained. We hope so. [end recording] [passage omitted] [video shows Gorbachev, party leaving the UN building]

### Reagan on Upcoming Meeting

*LD0712173988 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 7 TASS—"I'm delighted that later today I will have the opportunity to welcome President Gorbachev to the United States and extend to him the hospitality and good wishes of the American people," U.S. President Ronald Reagan stated today before departure from Washington for New York where he and President-Elect George Bush will meet Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Since they began in 1985 my discussions with President Gorbachev have been friendly, business-like and productive," Reagan observed.

"And although our time together today will be brief, I welcome this opportunity for a final meeting between myself, President Gorbachev and Vice-President Bush that will demonstrate the continuity of the process we first put in place at Geneva in 1985."

### Atmosphere for Meetings Noted

*LD0712212188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Report by special correspondent Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Reagan and Bush arrived in New York from Washington today especially for this meeting. Officially no agenda for today's conversation was defined, which gives an opportunity to the three leaders to discuss freely both the most important international problems and questions of bilateral relations.

Some commentators speak of this being George Bush's first important familiarization with Mikhail Sergeyevich. This is not so. Several meetings already have taken place between them, including a lengthy face-to-face conversation in December last year during Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Washington. I do not wish to say that back then the outcome of the 1988 elections was foreseen in Moscow, but an ability to look ahead and take into consideration all the political permutations always has been an important quality of major state figures.

One would not want all that is happening before our eyes to be perceived exclusively through rose-colored glasses. There are plenty of fabrications and political speculations of all kinds here just now. One of them is the proclamation that Gorbachev is pursuing exclusively propaganda purposes in this meeting, and that this is the reason he chose a moment for the meeting when one president already is leaving power and the other has not yet come to power. There are other malevolent proclamations, as well.

However, it is not these that determine the political atmosphere here. One can say boldly that we are now witness to an important political relay, of an important new beginning. Many more meetings lie ahead, and there are more than enough problems for examination at them.

### Reagan Hosts Luncheon

*LD0712182888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1812 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York, 7 Dec (TASS)—Today U.S. President R. Reagan gave a luncheon in honor of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The fifth meeting of the leaders of the two powers took place on Governor's Island. Were one of the subunits of the U.S. Coast Guard is currently located.

"Welcome, President Reagan"

"Welcome, General Secretary Gorbachev"

The leaders of the United States and USSR were met here by this welcoming poster.

### Shevardnadze, Yakovlev at Talks

*LD0712211988 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan today gave a luncheon for Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The leaders of the two great powers held their fifth meeting on Governors Island in New York Harbor, which now serves as the quarters for a U.S. coastguard unit.

Reagan and Gorbachev were greeted there with streamers saying hospitably: "Welcome, President Reagan" and "Welcome, General Secretary Gorbachev".

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan held talks, attended from the Soviet side by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials. Present from the American side were U.S. Vice President George Bush and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

### Shevardnadze, Shultz Meet

*LD0712160288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York, 7 Dec (TASS)—A meeting took place on 7 December in New York between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and G. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state. The ministers discussed certain current questions of Soviet-American relations and also a number of topical problems of world politics in a constructive spirit, and primarily from the angle of the forthcoming meeting today between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan.

Particular attention was paid to the prospects for the talks on nuclear and space weapons, the banning of chemical weapons, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. Both sides agreed to make additional efforts to ensure a speedy and successful conclusion to the Vienna talks. Among regional problems, the ministers discussed in detail the situation which is emerging over the settlement in southern Africa, and the state of affairs in the Middle East. There was a business-like discussion of human rights problems and bilateral questions.

### Reagan, Gorbachev Open Talks

*LD0712195988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] In Admiralty House on Governors Island, which is located in New York harbor, a meeting has just begun between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. President Reagan warmly greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the steps leading to the parade entrance of Admiralty House.

I am very pleased about this our fifth meeting, said the head of the U.S. Administration. We have already achieved much, but there is much more to be done.

I am hoping to have a substantial meeting, declared the Soviet leader.

U.S. Vice President Bush, who from 20 January will head the next U.S. Administration, is participating in the meeting which has begun.

### TASS Cites Reagan on Talks

*LD0812030288 Moscow TASS in English 0300 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 8 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan Wednesday spoke at the American Enterprise Institute here on his meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in New York.

"Our discussions were frank and cordial, as usual, and I was pleased by this opportunity to have a last meeting with President Gorbachev before leaving office," he said, noting that they had been joined by President-elect George Bush, currently serving as U.S. vice-president.

Commenting on the Soviet decision to cut back armed forces and conventional arms, Reagan remarked: "I can only say that if it is carried out speedily and in full, history will regard it as important—significant."

"We looked in particular at what had been achieved since our last meeting in Moscow and what still needed to be accomplished in the future. I expressed to President Gorbachev my confidence that the work we began together in Geneva in 1985 will continue under the Bush administration."

"I particularly stressed the importance of human rights in U.S.-Soviet relations. I told the president that we Americans welcomed the changes that he has initiated in the Soviet Union," Reagan went on.

"We also reviewed progress in arms control, resolution of regional conflicts, and our bilateral relationship. I think we both expressed satisfaction in what we have achieved in recent years. But we also recognized that fundamental differences between our countries remain in many areas, and that determined efforts by both sides will be necessary in the months and years ahead to overcome such differences," the U.S. President said.

"While our hopes today are for a new era, let us remember that if that new era is indeed upon us, that there was nothing inevitable about it. It was the result of hard work—and of resolve and sacrifice," he said.

"At this critical juncture our responsibilities grow more, not less serious," Reagan added.

### TASS Cites Bush on NY Talks

*LD0812040688 Moscow TASS in English 0404 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Washington December 8 TASS—U.S. Vice-President George Bush said he was going to build on the progress achieved by the Reagan administration in relations with the USSR when he took over at the White House next January.

Speaking to reporters after returning here from New York, the president-elect added that he had made that clear to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Bush described his meeting with him as good and productive.

Asked to comment on the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its armed forces, he said that "it is a good decision," adding that he would have to see the specifics of the initiative.

### Gorbachev Comments on Meetings

*LD0812013388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting Wednesday with President Reagan and his successor Vice President Bush ended with a trip through Governor's Island in the U.S. President's car, to a place from where there is an impressive panoramic view of New York's skyscrapers.

In a conversation with journalists and business representatives Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in particular:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] It is necessary, I feel, to supplement the political dialogue and the talks on questions of disarmament and other international problems by an expansion of our business links. You very rightly noted that our peoples are in the mood to develop relations, and we are striving to get to know each other better. It is surely the duty of politicians to see that these good aspirations on the part of our peoples are transferred to the policy area. I attempted to do this today on behalf of the Soviet leadership in my speech at the United Nations.

Americans should know that our people have deep respect for the American people. Americans should know that our people wish to cooperate and to live in peace with the Americans. I feel that we are now present at the beginning of a new stage in the development of our countries, a stage which promises to provide a great deal of good for our peoples. I regard also this get-together, and the unconstrained atmosphere among us, as a manifestation of the changes in our relations. It turns out that we are able calmly to discuss everything and find solutions to the most difficult problems—even if not immediately.

I want to share with you the meeting that has just ended with the President and the vice president—the future President. It was very open and took place in a good atmosphere. We were united in the view that what has been started in recent years deserves to be continued. This is very important. So I think a fine outlook awaits our peoples in the future.

We were very pleased that thousands of New Yorkers came onto the streets to welcome us. We saw the faces and the eyes and the friendly attitudes. Believe me, this is very important, and we are grateful for the warmth of this greeting. [end recording]

### 'Positive' Gorbachev Comments

*LD0712223788 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Governors Island, New York December 8 TASS—By TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Nikolay Turkatenko:

Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan and George Bush on Wednesday ended with a drive in the U.S. President's car on Governor's Island in New York Harbor, which offers a vantage view of the city's impressive skyline.

Talking to reporters, the Soviet leader had positive comments to make on the meeting.

"It is only possible to develop dialogue and improve relations by joint effort. And the disarmament process, too, can only be advanced by joint effort," he said.

Answering questions about the reaction expected by the Soviet Union to its unilateral cuts in armed forces, including those in Europe, Gorbachev said: "Of course, we count on certain steps to be taken both by the United States and by Europeans as well."

Warmly parting with the Soviet leader, President Reagan told newsmen that he thought the meeting had been very positive.

Asked about what had been achieved there, he said the meeting's result was the continuation of what had been accomplished before and the passing of the relay baton to the next administration.

The U.S. President somewhat earlier was literally showered with questions about his view of the Soviet decision to reduce armed forces. His answer was: "I heartily approve."

Asked if the U.S. was going to reduce its armed forces in Europe as well, Reagan said they would continue discussing the issue and his view was that the United States should and definitely would make corresponding adjustments if it turned out that the Soviet decision led to U.S. superiority which, he added, the United States did not seek.

"I agree with what the President said," commented Vice-President Bush who assumes presidential duties next January.

The Soviet decision to slash its armed forces unilaterally generated enormous interest in the United States. The Cable News Network said the Soviet leader had delivered a tremendous speech in the United Nations, presenting humanity with remarkable Christmas gifts.

### Gorbachev on 'Very Open' Talks

*LD0812001588 Moscow TASS in English 2357 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev said when visiting the World Trade Center in New York on Wednesday that "it is certainly symbolical that we're here in this building of the World Trade Center that serves to promote international economic and commercial cooperation."

"I think that political dialogue between the USSR and the United States and talks on disarmament issues and other international problems should be supplemented with an expansion of our business ties. They are a solid basis for successfully developing relations and making headway," Gorbachev added.

He said "both our two peoples share a desire to improve their relations. They want to know each other better."

"It is I think a duty of political leaders to translate these good intentions into policies," he stressed.

"I think we are present at the birth of a new phase in relations between our countries, a phase that promises many good things for our peoples," the Soviet leader went on.

Sharing impressions from a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush, who will move into presidential office next January, Gorbachev said the meeting had been very open and passed in a good atmosphere.

"We shared the view that what we have been able to achieve over these years should be continued. This is very important. so I think that our two peoples can look forward to good prospects," Gorbachev said.

### TASS on 'Benevolent' Meeting

*LD0812092588 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan and George Bush met on a small island in New York in the afternoon of December 7. Later they were joined by Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, George Shultz and some aides and ambassadors.

It was informal meeting and was connected with Gorbachev's stay at the U.N. General Assembly. There were no talks in the proper sense of this word, though the sides touched to some extent or other on all the main questions on the agenda of the Soviet-American dialogue.

Nevertheless, the free and easy, lively and benevolent meeting turned to be very important and fruitful. It absorbed, as it were, all positive and constructive features which developed in Soviet-American relations in the period after Geneva of 1985 and which can and must be preserved and augmented in future in the interests of the two countries and the entire international community.

It was highlighted by the idea of continuity—both in realization of achieved understandings and a search for new ones as well as in the nature of relations at all levels—from the top political one to contacts between people. This idea lies in the desire for truthful knowledge of each other, liberation from prejudices and suspicions, understanding and recognition of differences, taking into account mutual interests in their correlation with the interests of the entire world.

## Soviet Media Summarize Gorbachev's Visit to U.S.

### Press Reports New York Activities

*PM0812103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Putting an End to the Era of Wars and Confrontation"]

[Text] New York, 7 Dec—The first working day for M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who arrived here the day before, began early in the morning.

At 1000 M.S. Gorbachev was met at the delegates' entrance to the UN General Assembly building by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. The blue banner of the United Nations and the 159 flags of the UN member states fluttering in front of the UN Assembly and Secretariat buildings, with their rainbow of different colors, during those minutes saluted, as it were, the first visit by a Soviet head of state in the history of the United Nations.

Some 10 minutes after the ceremonial meeting a talk began between M.S. Gorbachev and J. Perez de Cuellar. After the talk, which took place in the office of the UN Secretary General, the Soviet head of state together with the UN secretary general visited the president of the General Assembly, Argentine Minister of Foreign Relations and Worship Dante Caputo. After a few minutes all three entered the General Assembly sessions hall. M.S. Gorbachev's appearance in the hall was welcomed with tumultuous applause by the participants in the UN General Assembly session. The chief of protocol led M.S. Gorbachev to the seat designated for heads of state.

The president of the 43d General Assembly session invited the Soviet head of state to the UN rostrum.

The Soviet leader's speech to the session delegates generated a lively reaction in the hall. Commenting on the emotional pitch reigning in the hall during M.S. Gorbachev's speech, Peter Jennings, the popular ABC Television observer, noted that it was a long time since such universal attention toward a speaker's speech and such universal enthusiasm had been felt within the UN walls.

In connection with M.S. Gorbachev's stay in New York, U.S. President R. Reagan, U.S. Vice President G. Bush, and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz have come here from Washington. Today the U.S. President gave a luncheon in honor of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The fifth meeting between the leaders of the two powers took place on Governors Island, where a subunit of the U.S. coast guard is now stationed.

"Welcome, President Reagan!"

"Welcome, General Secretary Gorbachev!"

This was the hospitable placard greeting the U.S. and USSR leaders here.

This small island in the East River estuary was drenched in sunlight. An imposing panorama of America's business capital opens up from the walls of this old fortress, just a few hundred meters from Manhattan.

Just 15 minutes on the river by steamboat and M.S. Gorbachev stepped onto the island shore. He was greeted by R. Reagan at the parade entrance to the coast guard headquarters, where the talk between the USSR and U.S. leaders was to take place. After shaking hands they were photographed, first by themselves, and then U.S. Vice President G. Bush joined them.

As the master of the island, Vice Admiral James Irwin invited the eminent guests into his house, led them to a drawing room with a fireplace, and left them alone for a brief talk.

## TV Reportage on Visit

*LD0812140188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0754 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast; report on Mikhail Gorbachev's stay in New York by correspondents V. Zorin and P. Kuznetsov, identified by caption; unidentified reporters' questions in English with simultaneous translation into Russian]

[Text] Along with extensive and detailed commentaries devoted to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN speech, regarded by serious observers as an outstanding international document, yesterday's meeting between the Soviet leader and President Reagan and Vice President Bush, who will head the Washington administration beginning on 20 January, represents an important topic covered in detail by all the leading mass media.

As we have already reported, to ensure that participants had the opportunity to talk in peaceful surroundings, a small island in New York's harbor was chosen as the venue for the meeting. The interest in this meeting, long before it actually took place, had been stimulated by the press world-wide, which engaged in a guessing game as to what would be the topic of discussion.

Today we can already say a few things about these talks for our television viewers. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Reagan met each other like old acquaintances. George Bush joined them. He, too, had already had the opportunity to meet and talk with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Despite the efforts of certain circles to spoil the atmosphere surrounding the meeting, with the aid of all manner of concoctions, the meeting immediately got off to a good start. The three leaders discussed, among themselves to begin with and subsequently in an expanded forum, both the most important problems of world politics and bilateral questions. At the beginning the journalists, a small proportion of whom succeeded in witnessing the meeting at Governor's Island, attempted to draw conclusions about the results of the discussions that had taken place from the mood of the three leaders who, having ended their conversations, took a short stroll around the island, enjoying the beautiful views of New York from the ocean vista.

The most impatient of the scribblers' fraternity tried to put their questions right away, as it were. Subsequently, a kind of flying press conference took place, when

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in the presence of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, briefly described the results of the discussions that had taken place.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] We took a broad overview, as it were, together with the President, of the path we have traversed after Geneva. First we had a conversation, just the three of us, with President and Vice President Bush. There we said what needed to be said to each other within this group of three. Subsequently we touched on all questions and, above all, we reached the conclusion that we adhere to the continuity of the course elaborated in recent years through joint efforts. We do not simplify anything. Behind both the Soviet leadership and the American leadership are huge countries and huge peoples. Of course, they have problems and interests of their own; these countries differ; they are different. But of late, we have become convinced that we must cooperate. And at this meeting we were unanimous, of the same view. I do not know—maybe I said something not quite correctly; let them correct it.

[Reporter] What should this arms reduction in Europe lead to? What are the next steps?

[Gorbachev] You know, some time ago, President Reagan and I—a year ago, during our meeting in Washington which, incidentally, took place exactly one year ago—we said to each other: Let us get down more and more to real politics. Instead of scoring propaganda points, let us engage in real politics. What I said today represents real politics, too. We reaffirm what we have said; we should be predictable, both as far as the United States of America and Europe and other countries are concerned. But, just as the first step in disarmament, in the development of dialogue, in improving relations, can only be taken through joint efforts. That is why we expect, of course, certain steps on the part of the United States and the Europeans. Good-bye. [end recording] [video shows long view of the UN; limousines arriving; journalists waiting; Gorbachev shakes hands with Reagan and then Bush; the three leaders seated together and then at a long table, Gorbachev flanked by Shevardnadze on his right and on his left Yakovlev, unidentified person, and then Dobrynin; the three leaders returning crowd greetings; Gorbachev giving an impromptu press conference with his translator, Bush, and Reagan]

Following his return from Governor's Island, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his spouse visited the World Trade Center. Thousands of people warmly greeted them throughout their entire route. The lofty Soviet guests ascended to the 107th floor of one of the two twin skyscrapers, where an observation platform is mounted. These two towers represent the city's highest building. Each one is 110 floors high—or some 460 meters high. A panoramic view of the city opens up from this height: the bay, bridges, port facilities, and business and residential districts. Representatives of the municipal authorities greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his spouse at the end of the sightseeing event. Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva was given a large bouquet of red roses.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Thank you for the hospitality. I thought we were just tourists and it was pleasant as a tourist to be half a kilometer high over New York. The impression the city leaves is very interesting—so is its architecture, bridges, and there is much water. We have learned a bit of history. Specifically, I was familiarized with the history of the construction of Brooklyn Bridge. To some extent the history of the construction of this bridge is a history of the development of vast expanses of the United States.

But now I would like to say that it is symbolic that we are in a building which should facilitate the development of contacts and economic cooperation. You have recalled the fact that an exhibition of Soviet goods is about to open.

I think that a political dialogue, talks on the questions of disarmament and other international problems must be supplemented by an expansion of our ties, our business ties. After all, this represents a solid foundation for these realtions to develop successfully and to advance. You have very correctly observed that our peoples are in the mood to develop relations; there is a desire to get to know each other better. Surely the politicians' duty consists in translating these good intentions of our peoples into the plane of policy. This I attempted to do today on behalf of the Soviet leadership in my speech at the UN.

Americans should know that our people feel a deep respect for the American people. Americans should know that our people want to cooperate and to have exchanges; our people wish to live in peace with Americans. I think we are now witnessing the birth of a new stage in the development of our countries, a stage which promises to yield much good for our peoples. And I see this meeting, the relaxed atmosphere which prevails here, as another manifestation of changes in our relations. It turns out we can calmly discuss everything together; we can find solutions to the most difficult problems, even though it may not be instantaneous. I want to share with you the just-finished meeting with the President and the vice president—the future President. It was very open and took place in a good atmosphere.

We were unanimous in this: that what has been generated in recent years deserves to be continued. This is very important. And so I think that good prospects await our peoples in the future. Let me once again express cordial gratitude to you. [applause]

[Reporter] Could you share your personal impressions of New York? You said you liked the bridges and (?houses).

[Gorbachev] Let me say a few words about the most important thing. We were very pleased that thousands of New Yorkers took to the streets to welcome us. We saw them, we saw their faces, their eyes, their friendly attitude. Believe me, it is very important and we are grateful for this warm welcome. Please convey our heartfelt gratitude for this.

[Reporter] Can I ask you what, as it were, you have learned from this trip and what personal conclusions you draw from it?

[Gorbachev] I draw these personal conclusions: we all should travel more and meet each other more; we should get to know each other better. And we should more quickly rid ourselves of all the residue of the past and mutual suspicions.

[Reporter] What do you intend to do in this huge city? There is much to do here.

[Gorbachev] Well, we will now go and sum up the results of the first day and we will think about what to do next. [laughter, applause] [end recording] [video shows limousines arriving to applause from crowds; the Gorbachevs and entourage atop World Trade Center; panorama of city; the port authority official welcoming the Gorbachevs; Gorbachev speaking]

Along the route from the World Trade Center to his residence and during sightseeing of the central part of the city in the region of 50th Street and Broadway, the cortege of limousines unexpectedly came to a halt. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked that an unscheduled stop be made so as to personally greet the thousands of New Yorkers who were extending an unusually hearty welcome to the Soviet leader. The locals cannot remember such warmth and cordiality towards a foreign guest here. [video shows cortege of limousines; cheering crowds; the barely visible Gorbachev tightly surrounded by retinue coming up to crowds; policemen chasing the most eager of them away; Gorbachev waving to crowds]

## TASS 'Roundup' of Visit

*LD0812051488 Moscow TASS in English 0508 GMT 8 Dec 88*

["Gorbachev-Reagan Meeting—Roundup"—TASS headline]

[Text] Governors Island, New York December 8 TASS—By TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Nikolay Turkatenko:

Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Ronald Reagan and his successor, Vice-President George Bush, on Wednesday ended with a drive in the U.S. President's car on Governors Island in New York Harbor, which offers a vintage view of the city's impressive skyline.

Nearly 1,000 reporters representing the world's major news services, television networks and other mass media arrived to cover the fifth meeting between the present leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States on this small island serving as a U.S. Coast Guard base.

Gathered in the vast hall of the international press center in one of the local service buildings two hours before the meeting, they all clustered around TV sets providing live coverage of the Soviet leader's address to the United Nations General Assembly.

The speech left everybody greatly impressed. The Cable News Network described it as a tremendous statement, delivering remarkable Christmas gifts to humanity.

At 13:00 a Zil limousine with a red flag eased to the front entrance of the admiral's house, with the national colors of the Soviet Union and the United States flying over it. Gorbachev got out of the car and was greeted on the porch by Reagan and Bush.

Correspondents were offered a photo opportunity before the start of the meeting in the sitting room as the Soviet and U.S. leaders took seats by the fireplace there.

The reporters took advantage of the photo op to ask several questions, mostly on various aspects of Gorbachev's U.N. address.

The Soviet leader said the ideas unveiled in the speech stemmed from the comprehensive disarmament program put forward by his country in January 1986.

"I appreciate very much the fact that as a result of a quest for cooperation and talks with President Reagan we have lately reached the phase of realistic policies, of real steps.

"That today I offered some extra ideas serves to confirm our joint efforts. It is an invitation to work together, an invitation not only to the United States but also to other countries," Gorbachev said.

He then met privately with Reagan and Bush for some 20 minutes. The exchange of opinions was continued when they were joined, in particular, by Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Politburo and Soviet foreign minister, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Politburo member and a secretary of the Party Central Committee, on the Soviet side, and by Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Adviser Colin Powell, on the U.S. side.

Parting warmly with the Soviet leader at the ferry, President Reagan told newsmen that he was very pleased with the meeting.

Asked about what had been achieved there, he said the meeting's result was "a continuation of what we've accomplished so far and a continuation for the next (U.S.) Administration".

The U.S. President somewhat earlier was literally showered with questions about his view of the Soviet decision to reduce armed forces. His answer was: "I heartily approve."

Asked if the U.S. was going to reduce its armed forces in Europe as well, Reagan said they would continue discussing the issue and his view was that the United States should and definitely would make corresponding adjustments if it turned out that the Soviet decision led to U.S. superiority which, he added, the United States did not seek.

"I agree with what the President said," commented Vice-President Bush who assumes presidential duties next January.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz put a high value on Gorbachev's U.N. address.

Speaking here at a news conference following the Soviet leader's meeting with Ronald Reagan, he said that the address had covered all the key issues on the international order of the day.

Describing the speech as very useful, Shultz said the U.S. Administration was going "to sit and study this out carefully".

The U.S. secretary of state added that the meeting of the Soviet and U.S. leaders here had been "a kind of intermingling of substantive and cordial informal talks."

He noted that it had been "marked by a general desire for a continued positive development in relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Commenting on the Soviet-U.S. relationship and East-West relations in general, he said the world had changed dramatically for the better and he liked that.

White House Official Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told reporters that when saying farewell to Gorbachev, Reagan had presented him with a photograph made during their summit in Geneva in 1985 and inscribed, "we have walked a long way together to clear a path for peace. Ronald Reagan, Geneva 1985—New York 1988."

## Expected To Open Soviet Exhibit

*LD0812015188 Moscow TASS in English 0136 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—The Jacob K. Javits Convention Center, one of the largest in New York, was built on the Hudson two and a half years ago.

Some 100 major exhibitions dealing with most diverse subjects are annually staged on its 68,000 square meters of floorspace under a vaulted roof made, just like part of the walls, of darkened glass and metalwork.

But today's show will still make history as it will be the first exhibition of Soviet export goods ever mounted in the U.S.

Running under the motto "cooperation through trade", it will stay open until December 20. The exhibition is one result of a summit understanding to promote Soviet-American commercial and economic ties.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is expected at the opening ceremony.

The central hall, with 4,000 square meters of floorspace, is as large as a football field. The exhibits range all the way from heavy-duty power shovels and matryoshka dolls to fur articles and computers.

The hammer and the sickle and the stars and stripes can be seen together all over the place.

Sponsored jointly by the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Exhibition Marketing and Management Company, the show involves 50 Soviet organizations.

They include the foreign trade firms of ministries and state agencies that have been given the right to deal directly with external markets, other foreign trade associations, joint venture companies with U.S., West German, and Italian involvement, co-ops and the national fashion house.

Thirty-four American firms with interests in the Soviet market are represented as well.

All in all, there are more than 4,000 exhibits to see.

The show's American director David Waltstenholm told TASS that it was a historic event in Soviet-American business contacts.

He said the exhibition would enable Americans to see for themselves that the perestroyka reform drive in the Soviet Union was for real rather than empty words. They would be able to see Soviet-American business partnerships in action and realize that those were to mutual advantage.

Waltstenholm added that joint ventures were making good progress and that should prompt other American companies to start cooperative arrangements with Soviet enterprises.

The role of the exhibition in this, he said, was tremendous as it showed graphically the Soviet Union's considerable commercial and economic potential.

### Shevardnadze News Conference Announces Departure

*LD0812080788 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, held a news conference Wednesday evening, at which he made the following statement:

On behalf of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev I want to inform you that a devastating earthquake with very grave consequences struck transcaucasian republics. According to tentative figures, thousands of people died in the Armenian SSR. I cannot give you a more accurate figure for obvious reasons. There has been severe destruction. It is a most grave misfortune. It is a tragedy not only for the Armenian people but for all the people of the Soviet Union.

Emergency measures are being taken to help those people who have suffered because of the earthquake and the cities and villages that have been affected. A special government commission to oversee disaster relief was set up and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was appointed to head it.

In spite of the fact that all necessary measures are being taken to overcome the grave consequences of the disaster, Gorbachev believes that when a people is in trouble, he has to be at home and he has to lead the efforts—these very important efforts—himself. For this reason we have to cut short this visit and return home.

The planned events to involve the general secretary have been cancelled, with the exception of the opening of an exhibition of the USSR's export goods, which will be held at a different level. As for the visits to Cuba and Britain, they will be paid later, at a suitable time. In conclusion, let me, on behalf of our delegation and on behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, who asked me to say this, to convey to you our very profound gratitude to all New Yorkers who have been these 36 hours extremely hospitable, very friendly and warm to our delegation.

I would also like to extend our gratitude to the authorities of the city of New York and to the United States administration.

### Gorbachev Plans Announced

*LD0812063088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[From the "Mayak Panorama" program, presented by Igor Pavlovich Charikov with correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov live on the telephone from New York]

[Text] [Charikov] We have New York on the line again. Hello, New York!

[Ptashnikov] I hear you, Igor Pavlovich. This is Andrey Ptashnikov.

[Charikov] Nice to hear you. What is the news?

[Ptashnikov] As you know, we said goodbye literally 2 and ½ hours ago, we said goodnight, but the way things are turning out it has not been a calm night. Literally a few minutes after I got off the line, an urgent news conference was announced at our permanent UN mission.

[Charikov] Yes, Sergey (?Lipskoy) told us about that.

[Ptashnikov] Yes, it began around midnight local time and was conducted by Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister. He told journalists—and it must be said that despite the untimely hour quite a few journalists were there from all the U.S. television companies and, naturally, representatives of Gosteleradio—at this news conference he officially announced that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is cutting short his stay in New York and returning to Moscow. This is in connection, as you probably already know, with the earthquake, the destructive earthquake, that has taken place in Armenia.

It was also announced that Mikhail Sergeyevich's visits to Cuba and Britain are temporarily cancelled; not cancelled, but simply postponed to another time. That, essentially, is all the information we have today. So all the events that were on the agenda for tomorrow are also cancelled, except the opening of the exhibition, the Soviet exhibition of national export goods, but someone else in the delegation will open it. That's all the information to date.

[Charikov] Thank you, New York, thank you and goodbye.

[Ptashnikov] Goodbye. As soon as there is any new information, we will be in touch.

[Charikov] Yes, we will put you in our bulletin right away, right away. Thank you and goodbye.

[Ptashnikov] Good. Goodbye.

### Yakovlev Meets With New York Public

*LD0812091388 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] New York December 8 TASS—The peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union have accumulated to overflowing fears, mistrust and prejudices with which they should do away. This idea key-noted a meeting held on Wednesday between Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the New York public.

During a lively dialogue co-sponsored by the U.S. mass organization Sane Freeze and local religious organizations, he highly appraised the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and President-Elect George Bush. Relations between the leaders of the two countries are becoming more open, sincere and frank with every next meeting. A considerable way was traversed. The word continuity was the key word of the present meeting. "This is very important for our nations," he noted.

"At home we live today a full, interesting, rich and free life," he said. "We do not want to teach anybody and we study ourselves. The only thing we do not like is to be instructed by others. Not much time will elapse, and we shall see how ridiculous, maybe phony and unfounded some phenomena can be which we witness these days. Take, for instance, such phenomenon of the present-day life as force. Seeking possibly to convince somebody, some people say that it is necessary to use force, to put pressure, that it is necessary to have a host of missiles to force the other side to some concessions, etc. If we are to continue this crude logic, it will turn out that the more we want to score successes in international life and disarmament, the more missiles and all other things should be stockpiled."

"Now we are living by perestroyka in our country," noted Yakovlev. "This is a serious and long-term policy, guided by which we want to bring the Soviet Union to the frontier in the economy, morals and democracy. We are sure that we shall achieve these aims. But domestic policy cannot be pursued in isolation from international affairs. This is an axiom that any foreign policy starts at home. [no end quotation marks received]

## Commentary Calls for Improved Trade With U.S.

*LD0712235388 Moscow TASS in English 2343 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Andrey Orlov commentary]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Within the framework of the current visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to New York the sides are summing up the results of the past year. For example, in his recent radio address the American President spoke with satisfaction about the progress reached practically in all issues discussed at summit level—from arms control to human rights and contacts. It is noteworthy that the President failed to mention among the successes a rather important component of bilateral reactions—economic cooperation.

It is a paradox that today when the speeded-up internationalisation of world economic relations has become the slogan of the day, two major industrialized powers practically do not trade with each other. The share of the USSR and the United States in each other's foreign trade turnover does not exceed one per cent, with the only exception of grain trade. Incidentally, the bilateral agreement in this field has been extended recently—a step which both sides described as a major compromise.

Unfortunately, this wish of the American side to search for compromise decisions seems to be on the wane. As before, trade is being severely hampered by barriers. Products from the Soviet Union, which is denied the status of the most favoured nation by America, are liable for draconian duties. For their part, deliveries of high-technology products from the USA are hampered by the notorious lists compiled by the Coordinating Committee of NATO countries, in which Americans set the tone. It is not accidental that talks on creating Soviet-U.S. joint ventures has been encountering so much problems. Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the financial sphere has been practically frozen.

What is next? If attempts are made to forecast further developments, the United States will eventually have to remove the artificial obstacles in the way of trade exchanges. It looks as if Europeans understood earlier than they did that the world economy in the 21st century is unthinkable without the USSR, that the success of its economic reforms is in everybody's interests. Despite the warnings coming from overseas, the West European partners are being increasingly vying for the Soviet market. Banks from West Germany, Italy and Britain nearly simultaneously declared their readiness to grant the USSR large credits. According to American data 85 per cent of East-West trade is with EEC countries. In the question of business relations with the USSR in the framework of NATO, "division", which the USA is trying to avoid with all its force, is evident.

The image of enemy is not easy to be washed away and the American Administration will hardly be able to give up restrictions on technology transfer. That is why, the first, less painful, step towards normalising trade relations between the two great powers could well be the rescindment of the Jackson-Vanik amendment which at the time of democratisation of Soviet society looks nothing more than an expensive anachronism.

The New York meeting was at the same time the first meeting of the Soviet leader with new President-elect George Bush. One would like to hope that the future U.S. Administration will extend the normalization of relations with the USSR to the sphere of economic relations as well. The advantage will be reciprocal.

## Press Notes Latest Bush Appointments

*PM0712164588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 11*

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gan: "Vacancies Are Being Filled"]

[Text] Washington, 7 Dec—After a certain respite in his appointments, U.S. President-elect G. Bush has simultaneously announced the names of five people who will take leading posts in his administration. As in previous cases, he again settled on Washington "veterans" and old friends.

Bush has promoted to his foreign policy team professional diplomat Thomas Pickering, who will become the U.S. permanent representative in the United Nations. In the course of 30 years' work in the State Department Pickering has held a whole series of responsible posts. Right now Pickering is U.S. ambassador to Israel. Announcing his appointment, Bush noted that this decision "symbolizes the importance which I attach to the United Nations." Pickering, however, will not have the rank of a cabinet member, as did his predecessors under President Reagan, and will be directly subordinate to J. Baker, who has been promoted to the post of secretary of state.

Despite recent criticism of CIA Director W. Webster for "insufficient aggressiveness," Bush has decided to keep him in this post. The 64-year-old Webster was appointed by President Reagan in 1987. Before that he spent 9 years heading the FBI. Like the permanent UN representative, the CIA director will not be a cabinet member either. As Bush explained, the CIA "should engage in gathering intelligence and not in developing policy."

The formation of the president's economic apparatus was completed after the appointment of a further three members of the administration. Millionaire oilman Robert Mosbacher from Texas, who raised funds for Bush's election campaign, has been appointed U.S. secretary of commerce. Washington lawyer Carla Hills, who headed the Department of Housing and Urban Development under President Ford, has been promoted to the post of special representative at international trade talks. Michael Boskin, a scientist from Stanford University, will head the President's economic council. Joining the ranks of Bush's advisers during the election campaign, Boskin developed the "flexible expenditure freezing" plan with whose aid the future president hopes to resolve the problem of reducing the gigantic budget deficits and avoiding a tax increase.

## China

### Deng, Qian Cited on Improving USSR-PRC Ties

*PM0712163388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[V. Ovchinnikov report: "Toward Relations of a New Type"]

[Text] The Chinese press is devoting a lot of attention to the results of the first official visit by a PRC foreign minister to the USSR for over 30 years. The newspapers report that Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has returned from Moscow to Beijing, after a short stopover in Tokyo, and publish press statements he made in the Chinese and Japanese capitals.

According to Qian Qichen, most attention was given to discussing the Cambodian problem, preparing the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, and other bilateral problems. The Chinese minister, the KYODO reports, stated that the meeting of the top USSR and PRC leaders in the first half of next year will assist in resolving the Cambodian problem, which is the last obstacle to the full normalization of bilateral relations. Qian Qichen, the RENMIN RIBAO newspaper writes, stressed that a Cambodian settlement accords with the interests of the USSR and the PRC and of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia and will aid the cause of peace and stability in the region. Talking with the guest from Beijing, RENMIN RIBAO continues, M.S. Gorbachev expressed the USSR's desire to build relations of a new type with the PRC based on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

As XINHUA reports, the question of the PRC foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union was touched on during Deng Xiaoping's meeting with former Japanese Foreign Minister Sakurauchi. At present, Deng Xiaoping noted, there is a new situation in the international arena characterized by a switch from confrontation to dialogue, from tension to detente. There are no factors to prevent the PRC and the USSR from improving bilateral relations. This will not affect the further development of China's friendly ties with other countries. After normalization Sino-Soviet relations will not be the same as they were in the 1950's. Relations of a new type need to be established, based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. These five principles, Deng Xiaoping concluded, must have a universal, directing role in international relations.

### PRC Reaction to Qian Qichen Visit Viewed

*PM0812104788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "USSR-China: Prospects Instill Optimism"]

[Text] Beijing—The official visit to the Soviet Union by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, the first in over 3 decades, the several rounds of intensive talks with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, and the nearly 2-hour meeting with M.S. Gorbachev aroused intense interest in Chinese society.

My interlocutors repeatedly stressed that the deep traditional friendship between our peoples is an objective phenomenon and the complete normalization of relations between China and the USSR accords with the peoples' cherished wishes and corresponds to the spirit of the times.

I telephoned Liu Keming, a Beijing University professor and deputy chairman of the Society for the Study of the USSR and East European Countries, who had just returned from a trip to the USSR, where he had attended the first congress of the All-Union Association of Sinologists. "I was in your country on the eve of Qian Qichen's visit and I came away with the impression that Soviet people want a change for the better in our relations and hope that it will be swift and profound. I regard our foreign minister's Moscow visit as the start of

a new stage in the normalization of relations. I see the future in an optimistic light. Official meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers have been revived. This instills the hope that during these meetings certain problems that still exist between our countries will definitely be solved. What is needed now is thorough preparations for a future summit. It will be a significant event in relations between China and the USSR. Relations of a new type are emerging between the two major socialist countries: They will be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It would be difficult to overestimate the active influence of this process on the cause of peace and development worldwide."

The Chinese press covered the visit in detail and has published the reaction of foreign media. The press cites Qian Qichen's answers to questions asked by journalists who greeted him at Beijing Airport on his return from Moscow. Attention was focused during the visit, the minister said, on preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit, the discussion of the Cambodian problem, and questions of bilateral relations. Qian Qichen stressed that both sides believe that a meeting between the top leaders of the USSR and PRC is possible in the first half of next year.

Here are a few headlines from leading papers: RENMIN RIBAO: "Gorbachev Meets With Qiuan Qichen. Both Sides See the Possibility of a Soviet-Chinese Summit in the First Half of Next Year."

JINGJI RIBAO: "The Process of Normalization of Chinese-Soviet Relations Has Begun."

CHINA DAILY: "The Official Visit to Moscow Was Useful."

Analyzing the results of the visit, a XINHUA agency commentator highlights three main points: The willingness of both sides to establish a new type of relations, a mutual desire to resolve the Cambodian issue fairly and rationally and as soon as possible, and, finally, a new stage in the normalization of relations has emerged, where both sides have said that a Chinese-Soviet summit is possible.

### Sports Agreement With PRC Signed in Moscow

*LD0112210888 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS —A protocol on cooperation in the area of physical culture and sports between the PRC and the USSR for 1989 was signed here today.

The document signed by Chairman of the PRC Committee for Physical Culture and Sports Li Menghua and by Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports Marat Gramov envisages the exchange of sports delegations and experts in basketball, badminton, judo, athletics, diving, gymnastics and modern gymnastics, table-tennis, football, figure skating and other sports. Altogether 400 sportsmen and experts from the two countries will take part in bilateral exchange in the course of the year. Thus, Soviet figure skaters will take part in demonstration performances on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the PRC, while Chinese mountaineers will take part in an international expedition to Mount Kazbek.

## Near East & South Asia

### Further on Talks With Afghan Opposition

#### Vorontsov Views Talks

*NC0712130888 Nicosia KHARAVYI in Greek 7 Dec 88 p 12*

[Report by Niki Kharalambous-Koulermou]

[Text] Larnaca, 6 December. In an exclusive statement to KHARAVYI today, Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, who, together with the seven-member Soviet delgation, stopped over at Larnaca Airport on his way back to Moscow from Saudi Arabia, expressed his optimism about the achievement of peace in the immediate future in Afghanistan.

The representatives of the Soviet Government had—for the first time in the 8 years of the dispute between the Afghan Government and the counterrevolutionaries—held a meeting with the representatives of the opposition on the issue of the termination of military operations and start of talks for the purpose of establishing a broadly based government, a new regime in Afghanistan in which both sides will participate.

Vorontsov's entire statement to KHARAVYI is as follows:

"It was the first meeting between representatives of the Afghan opposition and the Soviet side. We were present at this meeting in two capacities: as representatives of the Soviet Union and as men to whom the Afghan Government had entrusted the responsibility of discussing the issues that were included in the agenda of the talks.

"One cannot expect that everything will be resolved at a first meeting. In our opinion, however, something more important took place at this meeting. It became clear that it is time to pass from war to a peaceful procedure for the settlement of the Afghan problem.

"We asked the representatives of the counterrevolutionaries to understand that military operations, whether offensive or defensive, are unnecessary and that it is time to move to peaceful action for the solution of the problem.

"In this message we based ourselves on the recent UN resolution calling on the Afghans to form a new, broadly based government. We tried to convince the representatives of the opposition that there is such a possibility, and that President Najibullah is ready to sit with representatives of the opposition so that they may work out the composition of a new, broadly based government, literally a new regime.

"We tried to convince the representatives of the opposition that if they want to participate in the Government of Afghanistan there is no reason to kill Afghans. We submitted a proposal to them on behalf of the Republic of Afghanistan, President Najibullah, and ourselves that on 1 January 1989 military operations in Afghanistan should stop.

"No one will suffer anything; all will remain at their positions with their arms. The collection of arms is not demanded on the condition that they do not kill each other. There are already certain specific bases for the start of the talks between the two sides.

"There is a profusion of alternative solutions. The leaders of the opposition themselves can sit down with President Najibullah, or they can appoint representatives who will talk with representatives of the Afghan Government. There are various ways to start the talks.

"Such talks must lead to the birth of a new regime in Afghanistan—a regime in which every one can participate."

We asked what the counterrevolutionaries' reaction to these proposals was. Vorontsov replied: The representatives of the Afghan opposition listened to our proposals with interest and we agreed to continue the talks in the immediate future. The time and place will be fixed later. We agree to talk anywhere, even Moscow. We have already invited those representatives of the opposition who manifested interest to come to Moscow.

[Kharalambous-Koulermou] So can we say that the reaction to these proposals was positive?

[Vorontsov] They did not say "yes" but they manifested interest.

"I would like to stress," Vorontsov continued, "Saudi Arabia's positive contribution and King Fahd's personal contribution to the organizing of this meeting in Saudi Arabia. It was a reaffirmation that this country has great influence in the Islamic world and is truly interested in seeing peace prevail in Afghanistan.

"Passing through Cairo we had a meeting with the Egyptian foreign minister, who said that Egypt will contribute too and will do everything it can so that a peaceful settlement may be reached in Afghanistan.

"Generally, we view the future with optimism. We believe that peace in Afghanistan is possible in the immediate future and that the Afghans themselves will find the way to establish a broadly based government.

"Of course they need help after 8 years of war and any advice in this regard will be useful. We hope Cyprus will play a role in this respect."

[Kharalambous-Koulermou] How could Cyprus contribute to this procedure?

[Vorontsov] Your successes here will influence the Afghan problem and conversely. A peaceful solution of the Afghan problem will in any case have positive repercussions on the Cyprus problem.

In addition, commenting upon the procedure of the talks that have begun between the two communities in Cyprus, Vorontsov said: "It is a very interesting procedure. We are following it with great interest and wish it every success."

### Afghan Reaction Described

*LD0712225088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] It has been reported that talks have been completed in Saudi Arabia between USSR first Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, who is Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, and representatives of the Afghan opposition headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani. Our Kabul correspondent, Aleksandr Shkirando describes the kind of reaction this meeting has had in Afghanistan.

[Shkirando] One cannot easily give a single answer to this question. Over the past few days I have met with a number of Afghans. Some of them have a skeptical attitude to these talks, for it is a matter of a meeting with the leaders of the Alliance of Seven, the armed detachments of which have been waging a war against their own people for several years now. Others said when talking to me that this step should have been taken earlier.

I have to say that, despite certain differences in the views of the people with whom I spoke, they were all of the view that a search for a peace dialogue was vital. They believed that both sides were tired of the war, and that no sensibly minded Afghan wants a bloody internecine war to start following the final withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

It is notable that while the talks have been going on the scale of combat operations in Afghanistan has been considerably reduced. However, the more fanatical extremist leaders have continued to inflict strikes on peaceful towns and villages. Moreover, they have made yet another attempt to take control of one of the country's main highways linking Jalalabad with the

capital. This road is important, and not only strategically. Most of the foodstuffs and transit goods are sent along it to Kabul and other regions.

As a result of these combat operations, this highway, which a few days ago was partially under the control of the extremists, is again open to unhindered traffic. However, even a temporary halt in supplies of essential goods to Kabul has made even worse the already grave situation of the capital's inhabitants. As a result, hundreds of people have gathered at bakeries. They hope that flour will come from Jalalabad and they will be able to make hot flatcakes.

On the whole, people in Afghanistan are hoping that the talks in Saudi Arabia will pave the way to a peaceful settlement to the Afghan problem.

## Afghan Sources Cited on Talks

*PM0812102088 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 7 Dec 88 pp 1, 2*

[Jamal Khashuqji, Muhammad Sadiq, and Jamal 'Inayat reports: "AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Follows Up Results of Al-Ta'if Talks; Soviets Grateful to Saudi Arabia and Mujahidin Confirm Success of Talks"]

[Text] Mecca, Riyadh, Cairo, Washington—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned from reliable Soviet sources in Washington that the talks held in Al-Ta'if between a delegation representing the Afghan mujahidin and another representing the Soviet Government were good, particularly in relation to the exchange of prisoners. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, who headed the Soviet delegation to Al-Ta'if talks, said that Moscow will continue its efforts for peace in Afghanistan and he expects this objective to be achieved next year with an end to the fighting and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. The Soviet official, who was speaking in Cairo after his meeting with Egyptian Foreign Minister Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, said the time has come for peace and the formation of a government that expresses the wishes of the Afghan people, of a Muslim country.

Vorontsov spent 4 hours in Cairo where he arrived from Riyadh where he was yesterday received at Al-Yamamah palace by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

In Islamabad the Afghan mujahidin announced that they have agreed with the Soviets to resume the peace talks in Pakistan in the near future. In a statement on the first round of talks in Al-Ta'if they said that they agreed to allow the Soviet forces to complete their withdrawal by mid-February unhampered, as long as they do not launch any attacks themselves.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned from diplomatic sources in Islamabad that the fact that further negotiations will be held means that the Al-Ta'if talks were as successful as could be expected, considering the huge gulf between the two sides before the talks started.

A member of the Afghan mujahidin delegation to the Al-Ta'if talks has stated that the mujahidin still refuse to participate in any international conference on Afghanistan and they want the Afghan issue to be raised only in direct negotiations with Soviet officials. He also emphasized that they refuse to hold any talks with the communist government of Kabul. He added: "The Al-Ta'if meeting has paved the way for the forthcoming Islamabad meeting."

Although he did not give a date for the next round of negotiations, a spokesman for the Afghan mujahidin has told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that it is likely to start in 10-14 days in the Pakistani capital, Islamabad.

Spokesmen for both the mujahidin and the Soviets have unanimously praised the constructive role played by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia led by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd in the interest of peace in Afghanistan. Both sides have expressed gratitude to Saudi Arabia for its hospitality and for providing the the ideal atmosphere for quiet talks and frank exchange of views between the two sides. A spokesman for the Soviet delegation praised Saudi Arabia's quiet diplomacy. He said: The Kingdom is renowned for its positive and effective role in settling various regional and international disputes in its own quiet and positive way.

In a statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Afghan National Liberation Front leader Sibgatullah Mujaddedi expressed the hope that the negotiations between the mujahidin and the Soviets would spare the Afghans further bloodshed. He added that in the absence of a peaceful settlement the battles for the conquest of Kabul and other major Afghan towns would be some of the fiercest of the Afghanistan war, and the Soviets would be held responsible if they insist on continuing to support and supply arms to the lackey regime in Kabul.

Shaykh Mujaddedi, who was a member of the Afghan delegation to the first round of negotiations of their kind with the Soviets in Al-Ta'if, said that the daily number of casualties has recently increased to 30 dead and wounded as a result of the escalating fighting and the new arms brought in by the Soviets, such as Scud missiles, new bombers, and mines which are now extensively planted in Afghan territory.

He reaffirmed the mujahidin's determination to proceed with their military plans without any change. The holy war and the negotiations will proceed side by side.

He emphasized, however, that the mujahidin are interested in sparing the Muslims in Kabul and other Afghan towns the horrors of war, hoping that the present regime would fall automatically as soon as it is deprived of Soviet aid.

He said the Soviets should demonstrate good will by stopping arms shipments to Kabul and by speeding up their withdrawal.

On the question of prisoners, Shaykh Mujaddedi said: There is not a single Afghan family that does not have a son held prisoner by the Soviets and the Communists. This is why the matter of the prisoners should be tackled fully, regardless of the great difference between the number of prisoners we hold and the number they hold.

He confirmed that the Soviets and the Kabul government are holding no less than 40,000 prisoners. Of the Mujaddedi family alone, he said, there are 96 prisoners in Kabul. He added that mujahidin information indicates that some of the prisoners have been moved to the Soviet Union.

Referring to his meeting with the Soviet delegation, he said: Islam teaches us ethics and courtesy, even with the enemy, but years of enmity and national suffering are actual facts which cannot be ignored or overcome at a single meeting.

He said that the mujahidin are defiant when they go to the talks. He added: We are all agreed on the fixed principles of holy war which we declared, namely, the freedom and independence of Afghanistan, the establishment of an Islamic state there, and preventing the criminal communist elements from resuming their destructive role in the country.

On the matter of withdrawal of the Soviet forces, Mojaddedi said: The withdrawal we hope for and request is not just the withdrawal of military forces. We request the withdrawal of all experts and military and non-military personnel.

## Afghanistan's 'Abdul Wakil Interviewed

*PM0612172588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition p 5*

[Interview with 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, conducted by PRAVDA correspondent V. Okulov: "New Efforts Are Needed"—date, place not given]

[Text] Kabul City, 6 Dec—Over the last 2 years the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, including the leadership of the People's Democratic Party, Afghan Foreign Minister 'A. Wakil stated, has put forward a number of constructive initiatives and has proposed a whole series of measures aimed at ensuring peace and security in the country. And the main thing is that it has backed them up with practical actions.

An important place in our system of initiatives is occupied by President Najibullah's proposals which he promulgated at the joint session of the chambers of our parliament—the National Council. Their implementation would be conducive to ensuring the full revelation of that which is positive reposing in the Geneva agreements on a political settlement around Afghanistan and would promote the enshrining of this in an international legal form. The 6 months and more that the agreements have been in the process of implementation have shown that a political settlement needs new multilateral efforts.

The Afghan people have suffered a great deal over the last 10 years and they cannot fail to think of peaceful living conditions not only for the present generation, but also for future generations. We would like to ensure for them a peaceful future by enshrining in an international legal form the de facto existing status of Afghanistan as a neutral state.

This could be achieved by convening an international conference on Afghanistan under the aegis of the United Nations Organization which has already undertaken many efforts for the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan, the minister continued.

In 'A. Wakil's words, Afghanistan and neighboring countries could take part in the conference along with the guarantors of the Geneva accords—the Soviet Union and the United States. We are ready for a joint quest for the most rational composition of the conference's participants, my interlocutor stated. A broad range of problems could be discussed at the conference, but, in my view, the questions of ensuring the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan would merit special attention.

We have no ready made model for solving these problems, the Afghan minister said. But I think the experience of consolidating the neutral status of such European states as Austria and Switzerland is perfectly acceptable for the projection of its typical features onto our Asian region, and in particular, onto our country. Like Austria and Switzerland in Europe, Afghanistan could become a focus of stability in Asia. I think that this would promote the consolidation of positive trends in our region of Asia and would be important not only for Afghanistan but also for its neighbors.

The signing of a treaty on the neutrality and demilitarization of Afghanistan or the official confirmation in any other form by the world community of such a status for Afghanistan, 'A. Wakil observed, would help not only to establish peace and stability in our country and in Southwest Asia, but would also help to create an atmosphere of international cooperation and would serve as a example of unblocking crisis situations for other regions of the world.

I think that the preparation of the conference would promote the acceleration of the formation of a government of national concord because the noble aim of the conference matches the aspirations of of our people for peace and for the creation of a normal situation in the country.

The implementation of the idea of the conference will create the preconditions for uniting the contenting sides around the problems of restoring the country's economy. If we ensure our sovereignty and neutrality by international guarantees, we will be able to use those resources which are now being expended on the upkeep of armed forces for the restoration and development of the Afghan economy.

In 'A. Wakil's opinion, after the examination of the question of state neutrality and the demilitarization of Afghanistan, the conference could assume a more representative nature and move on to the dicussion of problems of rendering economic assistance to our country, and also a number of humanitarian problems. Representative of various governmental, nongovernmental, and international organizations—economic and financial—specialized UN institutions, regional organizations such as the EEC, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic Conference Organization...could be enlisted for participation in the conference.

This would give a positive boost to the economic and humanitarian aid which the United Nations is currently rendering to Afghanistan.

The implementation of the idea of an international conference on Afghanistan, the Afghan foreign minister said at the conclusion of the conversation, would considerably promote our country's progression forward along the path of attaining national concord and the cessation of the fratricidal bloodshed, and would serve the not only the present but also the future of Afghanistan—a nonaligned, neutral, peaceful country.

## Continuing Fighting in Afghanistan Reported

*PM0612084588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Okulov dispatch: "The Tension of Confrontation"]

[Text] Kabul—It has become known in Kabul that the United States is using even...international organizations to effect deliveries of arms to the Afghan opposition. This involves in particular the International Committee for Refugees which has a branch in Peshawar and warehouses elsewhere in Pakistan. These warehouses receive U.S. and other Western weapons for onward transmission to the extremists. Moreover, it is planned to build several more such warehouses.

And here is another fresh news item, this one of a completely different nature: Responding to the Afghan authorities' request for food aid to the population of Faryab Province, which is in the north of the Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet side decided to supply the population of this province with 350 tonnes of food wheat from the total volume of free aid arriving from the USSR. The first railroad cars with this cargo are already on their way to the station at Takhta-Bazar. Motor vehicles carrying the wheat will leave for the city of Kaysar [name as transliterated], which is in Faryab Province, in the next few days. Assistance in its transportation will be provided by our border guards on the Soviet side and by units from the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in the Republic of Afghanistan on Afghan territory.

Similar assistance was rendered in the past to the population of the mountainous Badakhshan Province. Food and consumer goods were transported from Soviet territory on trucks over the border passes, and also by air transport.

But here is a problem: While selfless assistance is reaching the Afghan people from the north, a different sort of activity is building up along the border between the Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, activity which constitutes interference in the republic's affairs by foreign forces. Foreign military advisers continue to arrive illegally in Afghan territory with armed opposition detachments. According to data from competent Afghan organs, 10 such "adventure seekers"—from France, Britain, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey—have just made their presence known in the Panjsher Valley. They are concerned not only with the quality of local gangs' combat training but also with the opinion of their gangleaders about the candidates for the position of military leader of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven." An inspection is currently being carried out in Khowst District by two Arab advisers who have arrived there. The advisers are well guarded by the opposition. And should they come under threat of capture by subunits of the Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces, they are eliminated by the bandits themselves.

The military-political situation in the country remains as complex as ever. Government troops conducted a series of successful offensive operations in the Qandahar region. Insurgent groups were ejected from positions they had captured earlier along the heights dominating the provincial center and airport. Government troops are advancing in the direction of Spin Buldak. The county center of Takhteh Pol in the same province was liberated. The situation in the city of Qalat, administrative center of Zabol Province, is gradually returning to normal. In response to the protracted siege by insurgents, government troops delivered powerful bomb strikes. State institutions in the city are working and stores have opened. The residents are returning to the homes they had earlier abandoned.

A regiment under the command of tribal chief Sayyed Ahmad conducted successful combat operations against gang formations of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" in Herat Province. Attempts by extremist groups to shell the air force base at Baghran and the sites where Soviet units are stationed in Parvan Province are stifled by artillery fire. The situation remains tense along a section of the Charikar-Kabul highway.

Just a few days ago a group of Soviet and foreign journalists visited the border crossing at Towr Kham on the Afghan-Pakistani border. News has now come in that the situation has sharply deteriorated there. Major armed formations of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," supported by 1,200 Pakistani malisha troops, recaptured the border crossing, cut the Towr Kham-Jalalabad highway, and are now fighting in the immediate vicinity of the provincial center of Jalalabad. Despite the fact that the insurgents have concentrated a grouping of 20,000 men in Nangarhar Province, attempts to capture Jalalabad on the march are not succeeding.

### Law Association Statement on Afghan POW's

*PM0812115588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Soviet International Law Association has issued a statement stressing that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan also includes the resolution of such important issues as the repatriation of Afghan refugees and the return of Soviet servicemen captured by opposition forces.

In light of the norms of international law the armed opposition in Afghanistan has not the slightest grounds—much less the right—to detain Soviet POW's or prevent their return to the motherland, the statement notes.

### Preparations for Mideast Conference Urged

*OW0712090688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 6 Dec 88*

["The World Today" program; presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] The UN General Assembly began discussing the Middle East situation yesterday. Three draft resolutions presented to the assembly call for holding, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international peace conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all interested parties, which obviously also includes the PLO.

It should be said that currently certain signs have appeared that suggest that this issue could perhaps be moved from its long impasse, that perhaps a political solution to this question is possible. To a great extent this is being facilitated by the Arab countries. As you know, they have been speaking out for a political solution, for an international conference. The PLO has also adopted a realistic position. Our permanent UN representative Belonogov, speaking at the session, said that today a unique chance has presented itself, which could possibly untie this regional knot—a chance inexcusable to miss. He said that the Soviet Union calls on all countries to make use of the available opportunity and begin preparations for an international Middle East conference.

### UN Committee Scores Iranian Rights Abuses

*PM0712141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Human Rights Resolution"]

[Text] According to news agency reports, the UN General Assembly's Third Committee has adopted a resolution on human rights in Iran, expressing grave concern over the persecution of political prisoners in that country. Arbitrary and uncontrolled judicial repression operates in Iran, the resolution notes, and there is a lack of legal defense and appeal procedures.

Iranian emigre circles point out that the prisoners include jailed Tudeh Party leaders and activists of the Fedayeen-e-Khalq Organization (majority), the Mojahedin-e-Khalq, and other political organizations.

### Tudeh Party Statement on Executions Cited

*PM0712151388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Iranian Tudeh Party Central Committee has resolutely condemned the mass execution of political prisoners. As is noted in its statement published in NAMEH-E MARDOM (VOICE OF THE PEOPLE), the press organ of the Iranian Tudeh Party, in various Iranian cities members and supporters of the Iranian Tudeh Party, the Fedayeen organization of the Iranian people (the majority), the Mujahidin organization of the Iranian people, and other left-wing parties are being executed. Mortal danger threatens the lives of many people languishing in prisons.

The Iranian Tudeh Party appeals to the United Nations, the UN Commission on Human Rights, and representatives of the international public to make every effort to save thousands of people thrown into Iranian prisons simply because they defended their convictions and defended the rights of their country's working people.

### Brochure on Gorbachev's India Trip Published

*LD0212093888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The POLITICHESKAYA LITERATURA publishing house has brought out a brocure entitled "Mikhail Sergiyevic Gorbachev's Visit to India, 19-20 November, 1988". It contains Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversations with Rajiv Gandhi, the Soviet-Indian talks, the festive closing ceremony of the national festival of the USSR in India, and other documetns and materials. The APN publishing house has brought out the collection in mass prints in English, Spanish, French, and German.

## East Europe

### Shcherbitskiy Confers With CPCZ's Janak

*PM0812103988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Friendly Meetings in the Ukrainian Capital"]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Dec—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, had a meeting today with I. Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, who is in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

During the warm, comradely conversation V.V. Shcherbitskiy talked about the work of the republic's party organizations to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July and November (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

I. Janak gave information on progress made in Slovakia in implementing the decisions of the latest CPCZ Central Committee plenums, which have become an important political landmark in Czechoslovak restructuring.

During the conversation, both sides noted with satisfaction that the program of ideological cooperation signed in Prague recently between the CPSU and the CPCZ broadens the possibilities for galvanizing the exchange of experience and developing cooperation between the two fraternal parties' party committees in the sphere of the social superstructure and will contribute to strengthening Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

### Zhivkov Receives Soviet Oil Industry Minister

*PM0812144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Minister Received"]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Dec—Today T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of State, received N.V. Lemayev, USSR minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, who is visiting Bulgaria.

It was stressed in the course of the conversation that the process of restructuring in society and of transformations in both countries' economies is creating favorable opportunities for establishing more effective forms of cooperation. There are also advantages stemming from the common strategy for developing petroleum refining and the petrochemical industry. It was noted that the mutual accords secured recently are promoting an increase in the level of technological, investment, and market integration in this sphere and the creation of mixed enterprises is considerably enhancing the effectiveness of USSR-Bulgarian trade exchange.

### BCP's Momov Studies Ideological Work in USSR

*PM0712143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of BCP party workers headed by V. Momov, first deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department, visited the Soviet Union 28 November through 2 December. The visitors studied the CPSU's experience in restructuring working people's Marxist-Leninist education in the party organizations of Moscow and Ulyanovsk Oblast. Conversations were held at the CPSU Central Committee.

### Condolences Sent to Hungary Over Mine Deaths

*LD0612205888 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers sent a telegram to Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, conveying profound condolences over the explosion at Lencsehed pit, which caused loss of human life. The telegram expresses sympathy with bereaved families and those who suffered.

### Hungarian TU Conference Discussions Viewed

*PM0712152188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3*

[TASS correspondent A. Melnikov report "especially for TRUD": "Paths of Renewal"]

[Text] Budapest, 6 Dec—An unusually critical but at the same time businesslike mood characterized the recent Bucharest Hungarian National Trade Union Conference, whose delegates represented the country's more

than 4 million trade union members. Urgent problems of the Hungarian trade union movement and the main thrust of and principles for renewing its activity were debated in an intense discussion.

Delegates devoted special attention to the more effective protection of trade union rights and working people's interests. In particular, they spoke out in favor of substantially limiting the cuts in real income planned in Hungary for the coming year. They submitted proposals on guaranteeing a subsistence wage, improving the material position of the least well provided strata of the population, and easing employment problems.

Summing up the results of the conference, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, underlined the importance of preserving unity in the Hungarian trade union movement. This unity should not be founded on a centralized organizational structure but on common aims and a common approach to the solution of problems among the different detachments of Hungarian working people and their real cohesion and solidarity in the face of the present difficulties. In this respect, it is necessary to provide opportunities for creating new trade union organizations reflecting the interests of representatives of different professions and also for their joining sectoral unions.

Relations between the trade unions and the government, various state bodies, and enterprises' administrations must be founded on the principles of partnership and a desire for cooperation.

Ferenc Koszorus, general secretary of the Hungarian Railroad Workers Union, gave his opinions on the conference's central issue—trade union representation and protection of working people's interests—in a conversation with your TASS correspondent. In conditions of inflation and declining real wages, he pointed out, many social strata or professional groups in Hungary feel that they are in a most unfavorable situation and consequently criticize the trade unions for "poor" representation of their interests. As practice has shown, some enterprises in Hungary have felt that stopping work is an appropriate means of fulfilling group interests. However, strike action, although legal, is nevertheless an extreme measure which should be avoided if at all possible. We can confidently say, F. Koszorus continued, that if there are stoppages at an enterprise it is a sign of the weakness of the local trade union organization and its inability to resolve the labor dispute by other means.

In the opinion of Ferenc Szalai, secretary of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, one of the main results of the conference has been to strengthen the policy of broadening glasnost in the trade union movement. Representatives of the Hungarian press had free access to the Hungarian National Trade Union Council plenums and the meetings between trade union and government representatives. As a result, the country's public has detailed information on the stance of the trade union leadership and its activity.

Katalin Fodorne-Birgesh [name as transliterated], who is not only leading secretary of the Bekes Regional Trade Union Council but also a member of the MSZMP Central Committee, stressed in a conversation with your TASS correspondent that the current renewal of trade union work has largely been made possible thanks to the decisions of the Hungarian National Party Conference held in May this year.

Today the strength of party policy lies in the degree to which it accords with the needs of society—a society which includes millions of working people united in trade union ranks. Naturally, only a strong, independent trade union movement which is aware of working people's needs and enjoys authority among them can assist the party in resolving this task. Without this kind of cooperation between the party and trade unions it is impossible to achieve social concord—an essential condition of the country's further development.

On the whole, as the now concluded conference has shown, the country's trade union movement intends to play an active role—in close collaboration with the MSZMP—in solving the urgent tasks of social policy and in the process of renewal developing in the country. The decisions adopted at the conference will form the basis of preparation for the extraordinary trade union congress planned for the end of 1989 or the beginning of 1990.

## Hungarian Social, Economic Reform Discussed

*LD0512210488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Dec 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; corresponent Ye. Shirokov report]

[Text] The phrases: to remain upright, and not to fall down, often occur in Hungarian newspapers or simply in conversations with people in recent times. The real situation in the economy dictates the need to speed up the mastering of truly efficient, original, and in many respects, innovative ways leading out of a critical situation and insuring further progress.

At the session of the republican state assembly that ended recently, deputies discussed the course of the governmental program for social and economic stabilization and prospects for economic development in 1989 with a particular zeal and from critical and constructive points of view. The country's excessive foreign debt remains a painful problem. To achieve the considerably greater competitiveness of Hungarian goods on foreign markets and to bring more life into economic activity in general, the stake is being made on a more palpable liberalization of the whole system of management and on

the stimulation of the enterprise activity of any economic unit, including those formed with the participation of foreign capital and private savings.

Yet many people are apprehensive about the inflated income of certain latter-day socialist businessmen and also about the rise in economic crimes linked to new enterprise forms. That is why the issue of reliable legal regulations on economic activity is being discussed so heatedly by the public. The required uncompromising approach to the solution of complex social and economic problems and the course aimed at reducing consumption affect the population's living standards and cause certain tensions. The open way in which urgent matters are being discussed and the broad participation of the population in developing the decisions and laws being adopted by the government all help to maintain an atmosphere of confidence and to consolidate the nation's best reserves for concentrated and fruitful work.

## West Europe

### Thatcher Regrets Gorbachev Visit Postponement

*LD0812092788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0906 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] London, 8 Dec (TASS)—Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent a message of condolences to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In a brief interview to one of the capital's radio programs she expressed regret that the visit of the Soviet leader to Britain is being postponed, but stressed however that "she understands such a decision." "Any other decision would be unthinkable," said the head of the government. Mrs Thatcher also noted that the British side is ready to conduct the necessary preparations to organize such a visit in the future, "at any time indicated."

### Gorbachev Congratulates Portuguese CP's Cunhal

*PM0812093788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1*

[M. Gorbachev congratulations message to Portugal's Alvaro Cunhal on re-election as secretary general of Portuguese Communist Party]

[Text] To Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP]

Dear Comrade Cunhal!

I cordially congratulate you on your re-election as secretary general of the PCP.

I wish you and all Portuguese Communists great successes in the struggle for the fundamental interests of the working class and all Portugal's working people and for the triumph of the ideas of peace, democracy, and socialism.

With communist greetings

M. Gorbachev

### Book of Gorbachev Utterances Published in Italy

*PM0712151788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Book on Restructuring"]

[Text] Milan, 6 Dec—The presentation of the book "Glasnost: Questions and Answers in Conversations With Journalists of the Entire World" in which have been assembled accounts of M.S. Gorbachev's news conferences since he was elected CPSU Central Committee general secretary, took place today in the USSR General Consulate in Milan. Prominent Italian political and public figures, parliamentarians, representatives of business circles, journalists, and activists of the "Italy-USSR" Society attended the solemn ceremony.

In the foreword to Italian readers of the anthology, which was published by "Teti Editore," M.S. Gorbachev indicates that glasnost is the key element in the process of revolutionary transformations of all aspects of Soviet society's life, or in a nutshell, in the restructuring process.

I would like to believe that our glasnost has also become a factor of the restructuring of international relations in line with antimilitarist, humanitarian principles. It is precisely glasnost which is promoting the formation of the new political thinking with its realization of the interdependent and integrated nature of the world, the priority of interests common to all mankind over any national, class or ideological differences, and with its respect of peoples' right to freedom of choice.

The Soviet leader stresses the importance of the thriving international dialogue, including the Soviet-Italian dialogue.

We can do a great deal together in the construction of a common European home which suits all participants in the European-wide process begun in Helsinki in 1975, M.S. Gorbachev points out in conclusion. Its construction must be conducted with the active participation of all European states, and, of course, the United States and Canada which are organically linked with European concerns.

### Government Marks Finnish Independence Day

#### Presidium Greets President

*PM0712132988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Untitled USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium greetings message to Finnish President Koivisto on Independence Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland.

On behalf of the Soviet people and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, we send you, Mr President, and the friendly Finnish people cordial congratulations and good wishes on Finland's national day—Independence Day.

It is with satisfaction that we note that relations between the Soviet Union and Finland are distinguished by our forward-looking cooperation and are developing steadily and dynamically in full accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance whose 40th anniversary our countries and peoples celebrated on a broad scale celebrated this year.

Today, when the establishment of a large-scale policy of trust is becoming a very important task in international affairs, the experience of a respectful attitude to one another's interests and own views, which is embodied in real joint action and has ennobled Soviet-Finnish relations with a deep mutual trust, appears particularly valuable. This experience is our countries' joint contribution to strengthening stability in the north of our planet, building a common European home, and working to radically transform the entire system of relations between East and West and create a secure, nuclear-free peace throughout the world.

We wish you, Mr President, success in your great state activity and we wish peace and prosperity to the Finnish people.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

### Council of Ministers Message

*PM0712133588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Untitled USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to Finnish Prime Minister Holkeri on Independence Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Harri Holkeri, Prime Minister of Finland.

On this momentous event in the life of friendly Finland—Independence Day—we sincerely and cordially congratulate you, Mr Prime Minister, and all members of your government cabinet.

In celebrating this year's 40th anniversary of the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, the Soviet Union and Finland reaffirmed their mutual determination to steadily develop the entire complex of their multifaceted cooperation on the firm foundations of this historic document. The fruitful, promising nature of our jointly elected course was once again clearly apparent during your recent unofficial visit to the Soviet Union.

By translating into practical action the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, the Soviet Union and Finland are making an important contribution to building trust, cooperation, and mutual understanding in Europe and the rest of the world in the spirit of the new political thinking.

We wish you, Mr Prime Minister, and the Finnish Government every success and we wish the Finnish people prosperity and well-being.

The USSR Council of Ministers

### Voronin Attends Reception

*PM0812114788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] H. Talvitie, Finnish ambassador to the Soviet Union, has held a reception to mark the national holiday. The reception was attended by G. Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

### Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Sweden

*PM0712155388 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Dec 88 p 12*

[Mats Carlbom report: "In Lenin's Swedish Footsteps"]

[Excerpt] Despite restructuring, Soviet leaders still follow in Lenin's footsteps. That is why the Supreme Soviet delegation went directly from Arlanda Airport to the Royal Library in Stockholm to see Lenin's old desk.

The delegation was met on Sunday morning [4 December] by Riksdag Speaker Thage G. Peterson. The 10-man delegation will be spending a week in Sweden at the invitation of the Swedish Riksdag.

The delegation is led by Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of the [USSR] Supreme Soviet.

By sending so high-ranking a deputy the Soviet Union is thought to have indicated that great interest is attached to the visit.

Among the other delegation members are the poet Yegor Isayev, secretary of the Soviet Writers Union, and Nikolay Basov, 1964 Nobel physics prizewinner and a member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Today the delegation will meet with representatives of all the parties represented in the Swedish Riksdag and tomorrow with Foreign Minister Sten Andersson. The rest of the week will be devoted to visits to various industrial companies.

"We are busy with major reforming work in the Soviet Union, and to create something new you have to look at experience abroad," Georgiy Tarazevich said. "It will be very interesting to see how the Swedish Riksdag works."

He said that he is proud to have been involved in the changes in the working methods of his own parliament—the Supreme Soviet:

"I am envious of those who will work in it in the future."

Developments in the Baltic states are one of the questions which will be discussed with the Swedish politicians, but Georgiy Tarazevich was cautious in his answers to DAGENS NYHETER's questions.

"For individual republics to become economically autonomous is part of the goal of the reform policies. However, I do not support the idea of a confederation (a league of states)."

Tarazevich's own Soviet republic, Belorussia, has its own representation at the United Nations. Should not Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania also have that?

"Only the international community can decide that," he said. [passage omitted]

### Further on Visit

*LD0712225888 Moscow International Service in Swedish 1900 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Our Stockholm correspondent, Valentin Gubernatorov, reports on a visit by Soviet parliamentarians to Sweden. [passage omitted] The current visit is aimed at expanding cooperation, Georgiy Tarazevich said. Tarazevich is the head of the Soviet delegation, and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Belorussia Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

### CPSU's Grossu, Delegation Leave for Greece

*LD3011175388 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 30 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—A Soviet Communist Party delegation, led by Semen Grossu, member of the Soviet party Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, left Moscow for Athens today at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.

The Soviet party delegation will take part in celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Greek Communist Party.

### Grossu, KKE's Florakis Meet

*PM0712142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 First Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent V. Potapov dispatch: "Greek Communist Party Jubilee"]

[Excerpts] Athens, 3 Dec—A ceremonial meeting on Friday was the culmination of the festivities marking the 70th anniversary of the Greek Communist Party [KKE]. The meeting was held in the Party House session hall, situated in Perissos, a workers' district in the Greek capital. Veterans and activists of the KKE and representatives of left and and progressive forces assembled in the hall. Thousands of people filled all available space in the Party House to hear a speech delivered by Kh. Florakis, general secretary of the KKE Central Committee, which was broadcast from the hall. [passage omitted]

A CPSU delegation headed by S.K. Grossu, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, was among the numerous foreign guests in attendance at the ceremonial meeting.

The KKE Central Committee general secretary met with the CPSU delegation head. During their conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, Kh. Florakis and S.K. Grossu exchanged opinions on questions regarding relations between the two fraternal parties.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Further on Khabibullayev Visit to Mexico

### Meets Foreign Ministers

*PM0712150188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Mexico City, 3 Dec—P. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and head of the USSR delegation taking part in the events marking the inauguration of Carlos Salina de Gortari as Mexico's new president, met on Friday with Fernando Solana Morales, that country's foreign minister.

The sides exchanged opinions on the state of and prospects for Soviet-Mexican relations. It was noted that the USSR and Mexico are maintaining their traditional ties, which have been consistently developing.

F. Solano Morales drew attention to that part of the address by C. Salina de Gortari, the new head of the Mexican state, which speaks of Mexico's intention to develop its relations of friendship with the Soviet Union.

On the same day the Soviet delegation head met with Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto, minister of foreign relations of Costa Rica, and Joaquin Ricardo Garcia, minister of foreign relation of the Dominican Republic.

P. Khabibullayev briefed his interlocutors on the process of restructuring taking place in the USSR, the latest Soviet foreign policy initiatives, and the Soviet stance regarding the settlement of the crisis in Central America. He stressed that the United States has not yet responded to the Soviet proposal that all arms supplies to the region be stopped.

The Costa Rican foreign minister noted the importance of developing bilateral ties in all areas, including at parliamentary level, and of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres.

The Dominican foreign minister stated that his country is following the process of changes in the USSR with admiration and interest and rates highly the steps being taken to democratize Soviet society. He pointed out that the Dominican Republic supports the efforts of the countries belonging to the Contadora Group and the support group and favors a solution of the problems of Central America brought about by the states of the region themselves without outside interference.

R.A. Sergeyev, USSR ambassador to the USSR, attended the meetings.

In the evening the Soviet delegation attended a reception organized in honor of foreign guests and the diplomatic corps by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

### Delegation Departs 8 Dec

*LD0812115088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0055 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Mexico City, 8 Dec (TASS)—A USSR delegation headed by P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which has been participating in celebrations to mark the accession to office of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, departed for home today.

The delegation had meetings with members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies of Mexico's National Congress, and with Fernando Solana, the country's foreign minister. The head of the delegation was received by C. Salinas de Gortari, and handed him a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Sokolov Among Guests at Cuban Embassy Reception

*PM0712142988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Unattributed report: "Anniversary Celebration"]

[Text] On 2 December Rafael Marrero Gomez, military attache at the Cuban Embassy in Moscow, held a reception to mark Revolutionary Armed Forces Day. The reception was attended by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, USSR deputy defense minister; and Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, Army General A.V. Betetkhtin, Army General I.N. Shkadov, and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces were also present.

Military attaches at foreign states' embassies in the Soviet Union also attended.

Cuban Ambassador to the USSR Julio Camacho Aguilera was present.

### Cuba's Rodriguez Lauds Two-Way Trade With USSR

*PM0712143988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 3*

[TASS report: "Two-Way Traffic"]

[Text] Havana, 6 Dec—M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming official friendly visit to Cuba will demonstrate the indissoluble bonds of friendship and unity between our countries and impart a new quality to Soviet-Cuban relations, Carlos R. Rodriguez, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers of Cuba, stated in an interview on Cuban television.

It was stressed during the interview that trade and economic relations with the USSR are of the utmost importance to Cuba.

Carlos Rodriguez noted the unfoundedness of Western press claims that trade between the USSR and Cuba is one-way. Our imports from the USSR come to almost 5 billion pesos, while our exports are of the order of 4 billion pesos. We export over 4 million tonnes of sugar, 24,000 tonnes of nickel, and over 200,000 tonnes of fresh and canned citrus fruits to the Soviet Union. It can thus be established that Soviet-Cuban trade is two-way. We are seeking to close the existing gap, he said, by supplying the USSR with new kinds of goods, particularly electronics.

### Economic Cooperation Appraised

LD0712230988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1150 GMT on 7 December broadcasts a 9-minute "conversation" between announcer

Aleksandr Korshunov and Havana correspondent Viktor Gorbachev on various aspects of cooperation between the USSR and Cuba.

The program begins by tracing the start of Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation at the beginning of the sixties and includes a voice recording by Rene Rodriguez Cruz, president of the Cuban Institute of Friendship Between Peoples, who recalls the Soviet Union's support for the Cuban people's struggle for freedom and independence. He notes that Soviet-Cuban trade agreements concluded in this period played a major role in this struggle.

Gorbachev then goes on to compare the trade volume of the years following the revolution with that of 1988. At the earlier time, the volume of trade amounted to R160 million. This year's foreign trade turnover will exceed R8 billion. The Soviet Union supplies around 700 items to Cuba, Gorbachev says, noting that Cuban exports have changed little. The main articles are, as before, sugar, nickel, and citrus fruits. True, the volumes of supplies are growing, says Gorbachev. "This year we will receive more than 4 million tons of sugar and 230,000 tons of citrus fruit. We are acquiring these goods at preferential prices and they are considerably higher than the prices on the world market," Gorbachev points out.

During the next few years, he says, we can expect mass supplies of new products, for example, those of the electronics industry. Video terminals are one of the export articles, although their export to our country is negligible now. However, work on the construction of a new enterprise with increased productivity is in full swing. Gorbachev goes on to note that the USSR is interested in Cuban medical apparatus, and that plans exist to harmonize the exports of light industry products. Gorbachev goes on to list other industries developed in Cuba with Soviet assistance. He particularly singles out biotechnology. On the whole, practically all branches of the Cuban national economy are involved in cooperation with the USSR. Throughout the years of cooperation, more than 70 enterprises have been built or reconstructed with Soviet assistance.

As for difficulties and problems encountered in the course of mutual cooperation, Gorbachev notes that the problems of adhering to planned schedules, first and foremost in construction, hold first place in this respect. These unfinished projects led to a situation in which more than 80,000 tonnes of above-norm equipment that has not been installed have accumulated in Cuba. The problem also lies in adhering to schedules for enterprises mastering production and reaching their rated capacity. There also are shortcomings in running enterprises built with Soviet assistance. All this, of course, reflects negatively on the effectiveness of Soviet-Cuban cooperation, but the two sides now are beginning to deal with these problems in a very serious manner and some positive results have already been achieved.

Gorbachev goes on to present a voice recording in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation of Noel Toledo, vice president of Cuban Academy of Sciences, who says that with Soviet assistance Cuban scientific institutions have reached the standard that makes it possible for them to contribute to the joint work equally with the Soviet side. Thus, cooperation is becoming mutually advantageous.

Regarding the new forms of cooperation between the USSR and Cuba, Gorbachev presents a voice recording in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation of Ernesto Melendez, minister president of the Cuban State Committee for Economic Cooperation, who notes Cuba's interest in new forms of cooperation and says that agreements on the principles for setting up joint enterprises were signed between the USSR and Cuba. An agreement on establishing direct contacts between enterprises was also signed. Compensation agreements are developing, too. Although there are no joint enterprises as yet, agreements on direct contacts were concluded by nine Cuban enterprises, Melendez says.

Speaking of future cooperation policy, Korshunov notes this is defined by Soviet and Cuban conceptions of the development of foreign economic relations. A corresponding agreement was signed in May this year and the conception itself is calculated for the period of 15-20 years, Korshunov concludes.

### CPSU Delegation Departs for Uruguayan Congress

*LD0412111388 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 4 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—The delegation of the Soviet Communist Party headed by Saparmurad Niyazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, today left Moscow for Montevideo. It was invited by the leadership of the Communist Party of Uruguay to attend the party's 21st congress.

### Arrives in Montevideo 6 Dec

*LD0612101588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0330 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Montevideo, 6 Dec (TASS)—A CPSU delegation headed by S.A. Niyazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Turkmenian Communist Party Central Committee, has arrived here to take part in the 21st Congress of the Uruguayan Communist Party.

The delegation was met at Carrasco International Airport by members of the Uruguayan Communist Party Central Committee Executive Committee Leon Lev and Eduardo Viera, and by other representatives of the Uruguayan Communist Party leadership. In the welcoming party was I.K. Laptev, USSR ambassador to Uruguay.

## CPSU Greetings to Congress

*PM0812112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*7 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Undated greetings message from CPSU Central Committee to 21st Uruguayan Communist Party Congress]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee congratulates the delegates to the 21st Congress of the Uruguayan Communist Party on the opening of the first legal party forum after long years of selfless work underground.

The Soviet Union welcomed the change in your country from military dictatorship to constitutional forms of rule. The contribution made by the Uruguayan Communist Party to the struggle for democracy and in defense of the vital interests of the working people, their rights and freedoms is widely recognized. Now in the new conditions the Uruguayan Communists—together with other patriotic and progressive forces—are consolidating the course aimed at democratizing the country's political and public life and deepening its content. We are in sympathy with your efforts.

People in the Soviet Union know and value the position of the Uruguayan Communist Party, which consistently defends the right of the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and all Latin American countries to independently decide their fate on the basis of freedom of choice, noninterference from outside in their internal affairs, and equal cooperation by the states without applying force or threats.

Our party highly assesses the support shown by the Uruguayan Communists for the CPSU's line in implementing revolutionary restructuring in the USSR and converting the principles of the new political thinking into the practice of international relations. True to Leninist principles, the CPSU will do everything within its power to rid the earth of the threat of nuclear annihilation, and lay the foundations of universal security, and guarantee the future of human civilization.

We wish success to your congress, whuch is called upon to give new impetus to the Uruguayan Communist Party's theoretical ideas and political activity and to answer questions posed by life and the novelty and dynamism of the changes taking place in the country and on the coinent. We are sure that the decisions which you will adopt will help to raise even higher the Communists' prestige in the eyes of the working class and all working people. Long live friendship between the CPSU and the Uruguayan Communist Party and between the Soviet and Uruguayan peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee

# Political & Social

## Armenia Earthquake Kills 'Tens of Thousands'

### Gorbachev Sends Condolences

*PM0812093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Message of condolences from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; "To the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and All the Armenian SSR's Working People"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] To the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee

To the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers

To all Armenian SSR Working People

Dear Comrades!

I have just heard of the serious misfortune that has befallen the people of the republic. I have been informed that an unprecedentedly strong earthquake has occurred which has entailed tragic consequences, the deaths of many people.

Both I and all the USSR representatives who are here with me have been shaken to the bottom of our hearts by a feeling of pain. In this difficult hour for the people of Armenia, I want to express to you my deepest sympathy, and my condolences to the families that have lost their nearest ones.

I have just talked to Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. At the decision of the Politburo, a Politburo commission has been set up under his leadership which already has embarked on taking urgent, practical measures to provide all necessary assistance to those people who have been beset by misfortune.

Dear Comrades! You may be sure that the whole country is with you in this hour of trial.

New York, 7 December

[Signed] Gorbachev

General secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

## Party-Government Condolences

*PM0812171688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 First Edition p 1*

[Undated condolence message "From the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers" on 7 December Armenian Earthquake]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers express their profound condolences to the families, relatives, and friends of those who died and to all those who were injured as a result of the earthquake which occurred 7 December in a number of Armenia's northern rayons and which brought with it destruction and loss of life.

The government commission and appropriate ministries and departments jointly with the Armenian SSR's republican organs have been instructed to take all the necessary measures to urgently eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and give assistance to those who have suffered.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee; the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; the USSR Council of Ministers

## Armenian Announcement of Calamity

*NC0812082288 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0745 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Message from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers:

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers announce with (?great regret) that the 7 December 1988 earthquake that shook Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, and a number of other rayons resulted in heavy human losses.

The American Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers extend their deep condolences to the families and relatives of the victims and to all the workers of the republic.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, together with the union bodies, are taking measures to extend relief to the families of the victims and to mitigate the consequences of the [word indistinct] calamity.

[Signed] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

## Casualties Feared Over 100,000

*LD0812105488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] According to preliminary reports there were 50,000 human casualties in yesterday's earthquake in Armenia, a representative of the Armenian Press Agency ARMENPRESS told a CTK representative by telephone.

There are fears that the number of casualties will exceed 100,000 when the rescue work is completed. Among the worse hit Armenian towns are: Spitak, which was almost flattened to the ground, and Leninakan, which was half destroyed. Telephone communications with the two towns have been severed. The earthquake has caused considerable material damage in Stepanavan, Kirovakan, (?Kalinov), and other Armenian towns.

## Estimating Dead 'Difficult'

*PM0812134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Special correspondents S. Bamlumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report under the general heading: "Earthquake in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Yerevan—We were at the correspondents' center when the walls trembled. The room was shaken by a tremor for around half a minute, it then went quiet, apart from a car horn blaring outside (its antitheft device having been no doubt triggered by the underground tremors).

The telephone at the correspondents' center did not stop. People were asking what the situation was and where the epicenter of the tremors was located. We tried to explain the details; we knew that Yerevan had apparently escaped damage, but in the cities and settlements to the northwest... A report on events was being carried on republic radio.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers have urged all the republic's citizens not to panic and to maintain good organization and order. All forces will be mobilized to provide aid to the regions stricken by the earthquake.

We caught sight of the first vehicles carrying the injured as we were leaving Yerevan. Despite the bright sunlight they were entering the city with headlights on, hooting constantly. At the entrance to the rayon center of Spitak the highway was rent with deep, winding cracks.

There was great destruction in the city itself. Disaster struck when children were at school and kindergarten. Some 50,000 people live in Spitakskiy Rayon. Its population has been swelled by several thousands more in the form of refugees in the last 2 weeks. It is difficult today to give even a rough figure of the dead. Half of the rayon center's multistory apartment blocks are in ruins and the rest are partially destroyed. All elevators in Spitak are out of operation, the elevator construction plant has collapsed, and of eight schools only one, built last year, is still standing.

There is also great destruction in neighboring villages...

We will be filing our next report from the earthquake-striken regions.

### Mission Chief Cited on Damages

*LD0812125288 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Reports have been coming to Armenia's permanent mission in Moscow about the earthquake in Armenia on 7 December and aid to its population. Eduard Aykazyan, who is in charge of the mission [position as heard], said the earthquake in the north of the republic was extremely devastating. [passage omitted]

In Leninakan, with a population of over 250,000, and Kirovakan, with a population of around 200,000, more than 50 percent of the buildings collapsed. In other towns, like Spitak and Stepanavan nearly 80 percent of the structures were destroyed. The earthquake took a heavy toll of life. For instance, in Spitak there were 15,000 residents and several thousand resettlers from Azerbaijan; the town was ruined completely. [passage omitted]

So far it is impossible to give even a tentative figure of the casualties and the extent of the damage in all the cities and communities hit by the earthquake. [passage omitted]

The Armenian mission has been in close touch with the Soviet airline Aeroflot, which has arranged additional flights to Yerevan by transport and civilian planes. Messages from all over the country express a desire to help Armenia.

### Significant Loss of Industry

*LD0812115188 Hamburg DPA in German 1029 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The serious earthquake which struck Armenia yesterday has claimed tens of thousands of victims. [passage omitted]

A spokesman for the Armenian news agency, ARMENPRESS, announced that an estimated 10 percent of Armenian industry has been wiped out by the earthquake. Apart from the towns of Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and Stepanavan, it is mainly the Amas and Gurgark districts which have been very severely hit. [passage omitted]

### Nuclear, Chemical Plants Undamaged

*LD0812143488 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Yerevan December 8 TASS—The Armenian nuclear power station today operates as usual, supplying electricity to the towns and villages of the republic. The magnitude of the earthquake in the station's area was five points. There was not a single crack in all the seismic-resistant facilities. The power-industry workers' settlement was not damaged either.

Chemical plants of Yerevan operate at full capacity. Only part of subterranean service lines was damaged at a tyre factory. But this however, did not interfere with the pace of production.

### Several Towns 'Razed' to Ground

*LD0812083488 Hamburg DPA in German 0817 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Tens of thousands of people lost their lives during yesterday's earthquake in Armenia. Several towns in the Republic of Armenia were razed to the ground. The town of Spitak no longer exists. Spokesmen from the Armenian Foreign Ministry and the ARMENPRESS agency stated this to DPA this morning. The spokesman from ARMENPRESS said that "half of the republic is in ruins." Army units have been brought into action and emergency preventative measures have been introduced. [passage omitted]

### 'Tragic Picture' of Leninakan

*PM0812145088 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 pp 1, 4*

[Special correspondents G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy, V. Umnov report from Leninakan: "Tragedy"]

[Text] ...We were in Leninakan 6 hours after the drama struck the city. The city presented a tragic picture. Virtually all apartment blocks of nine stories or more were devastated. There was considerable damage to five-story blocks. Only single-story individual houses and older two- or three-story blocks survived intact. Several schools collapsed during lessons.

On entering the city we saw what remained after the underground shocks. On the Yerevan highway, the city's main street, a block of nine-story apartment buildings had turned into heaps of rubble. In the gathering twilight around us were people in a state of shock. A man

wrapped in a blanket, drawing compulsively on a cigarette, had just been brought out from the ruins... At the moment of our arrival in Leninakan the whole city was still in a state of shock from what had happened. It was as if people had not yet grasped the full extent of the tragedy.

Camp fires line the streets. The city's population gathers around them. People sit on stray chairs at the roadside, on bundles, on fragments of wall. Along the route we constantly meet people who are weeping—even men. Traffic in the city is paralyzed, the streets are blocked by vast, endless columns of cars that have come from Yerevan and other cities in the republic to help.

We walk through the darkening streets. On Mashinisty Street there are several huge obstacles, the remains of the apartment blocks that stood here only a few hours ago. People sit at the thresholds of one-story houses that were not destroyed, no one risks going into the houses. Around the camp fires are children's beds, baby carriages, simple household belongings. A kerosene lamp stands on the hood of a Zhiguli that is parked by the roadside.

On Gorkiy Street, we stop near School No 9. The earthquake took the schoolchildren by surprise here. The new part of the building collapsed. A searchlight illuminates the ruins of the school. Soldiers and local inhabitants have arrived on the scene and are trying to shift the rubble with all the speed possible in these conditions. Sergeant Valeriy Gumenyuk and Junior Sergeant Kayrat Adilbekov tell us that they have already brought out more than 50 children's bodies from the ruins. Kids studied in this school from the first to the eighth grade. There are very few parents near the former school... Two battalions of soldiers are doing everything they can. They have already managed to bring out a few surviving children from the ruins.

Looking for the operational headquarters, we make our way to the city's central square. We expected to find the headquarters at the party gorkom. But the central section of the gorkom building is also ruined. Opposite, the central section of the communications center has also collapsed. In a neighboring street, the textile combine building collapsed while the working shift was in full swing. People are milling about in V.I. Lenin Square. People, mainly women and children, sit around camp fires. It appears that they will spend the whole night here.

A State Traffic Inspectorate inspector found room for us in a passing car to go to the operational headquarters. On the way the driver, Artur Kasyan, tells us what happened:

"As soon as I felt the tremors, I rushed outside. I ran to find my wife, my child, my mother..."

Artur's wife Karine is in the back seat; she clutches baby Ofeliya, wrapped in a blanket, to her chest. "Now I am rushing around the city," Artur Kasyan continues, "looking for mother."

Even then we did not manage to reach the headquarters. All the streets were packed with cars and blocked by the wreckage of buildings. In one street we met a group of fire officers. This is what Colonel Gennadiy Alekseyevich Ryabichev, deputy chief of a department at the USSR MVD Main Administration of Fire Protection, told us:

"Immediately after the earthquake we set about putting out fires and rescuing people. We managed quickly to extinguish the fires at the petroleum base, the tourist base, hotels, the textile combine. Fire engines are patrolling the city. Communications with Yerevan are still unstable. We managed to save the fuel tank farm at the petroleum storage base. Now it is under our control."

All the way back to Yerevan an endless line of vehicles was coming toward us. Among them were ambulances, lifting cranes, tractors, bulldozers, buses carrying militia, military vehicles carrying soldiers. The republic was hurrying to help the stricken cities.

Now, as we transmit these lines, it is 0100 hours in Yerevan. But a light is burning in the windows of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. A republican government commission is at work, under the leadership of F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. A government commission has also been set up, headed by B.Ye. Shcherbina.

"Party and Komsomol organizations are mobilized," G.A. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, told us. "All the republic's hospitals and clinics have been made available for the victims. Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health, has flown to the republic, accompanied by dozens of surgeons. The republic and the country have offered their help in these first hours after the tragedy. You cannot bring back human lives. According to preliminary estimates, the earthquake has claimed tens of thousands of victims. "The shocks have not yet died away, though they are no longer so severe."

### Moscow TV Shows Damage

*LD0812000388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A natural disaster in Transcaucasia. Here are the details in a report from our correspondent.

[Correspondent V. Nazaryan] Today there was a powerful earthquake that affected a number of rayons in the Armenian SSR. [video shows several partly collapsed

buildings] The towns that suffered particularly are Leninakan and Kirovakan, and the Gugark, Stepanavan, Spitak, and adjacent rayons.

These pictures were shot today in Spitak, a rayon center, literally within minutes of the destructive wave. [video shows a section of totally collapsed housing; people standing around; a man on a collapsed balcony holding his head in despair] As you can see, the elements spared neither single-storey houses nor high-rise apartment buildings. [video shows buildings in ruins] Industrial enterprises, trade and service outlets, and schools and kindergartens were destroyed.

This is how Armenia's third largest town, Kirovakan, looks now. [video shows a completely demolished block and other, damaged buildings] As you can see, here too there is great, serious devastation. Ever since the very first hours, organized rescue operations have been going on. Temporary medical centers have been set up, as well as headquarters providing emergency aid. [video shows a track-mounted crane, a box of supplies, and a doctor being helped into a white coat in the street] According to provisional figures, thousands of people are homeless in the devastated areas. There is a loss of life, as well as injured people. [video shows people searching in the rubble]

A government commission has been established in the republic. Measures are being taken to supply the population with food, clothing, and medicines. Today the earthquake- affected areas were visited by Boris Yevdokimovich Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. [video shows more ruins]

[Announcer] The earth tremors were also felt in Yerevan and Tbilisi, in a number of rayons of the Azerbaijan SSR, and in the Daghestan and Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republics. It was the most powerful earthquake in the Caucasus over the past 80 years.

## Armenia's Sarkisyan Speaks

*NC0812092788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0746 GMT 8 Dec 88*

["Text" of television speech by Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, on 7 December; recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots, as already reported, today at 1145 [0745 GMT] a strong earthquake shook the republic. The strength of the tremor at the epicenter—25 km northeast of Leninakan—was 10. Heavy damages were inflicted on residential, public, and industrial buildings in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, Gugark, and in all areas around the epicenter. (?Communications) have been disrupted. (?The calamity) has resulted in many deaths. The tremor was felt in Yerevan, the Ararat area, and other parts of the republic far away from the epicenter. There are no victims (?there), but (?certain) damages were inflicted on (?old buildings).

The Armenian nuclear power plant and the Yerevan chemical works have not been damaged. No major damage was done to the gas and energy supply lines, with the exception of the (?above-mentioned) cities and rayons that are near the epicenter.

A government commission headed by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has been set up to provide relief for the stricken cities and rayons and to organize rehabilitation activities. Also, a government commission has been formed by the USSR Council of Ministers, headed by Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The commissions started their activities immediately.

All the republic's medical (?bodies) have been mobilized. Military (?units) have been sent to the stricken areas to provide relief. The (?evacuation) of victims, and primarily of the (?aged), children, and women, is being carried out. [words indistinct], private and army vehicles, and trains are being used for this purpose. In the disaster area, (?centers) for the distribution of (?foodstuff and warm clothing) have been set up. (?The necessary) [words indistinct] are being sent there.

The appropriate labor forces, all (?means) of vehicular transport, construction machinery, and [word indistinct] have been mobilized in order to (?remove rubble) [word indistinct] from the streets. Activities for the distribution of energy and for the reestablishment of telecommunications are being carried out. Labor collectives in Yerevan and the republic's rayons have sent numerous workers and the necessary equipment to the disaster area.

A message of condolences on the heavy misfortune that has befallen the Armenian people has been sent to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, as well as to all the workers of the republic, by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The USSR Council of Ministers is extending concrete assistance in the activities that are taking place. [words indistinct] the republic's leadership has been assisted in the solution of several important issues by Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, all the secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and our country's [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] have been [word indistinct] to the republic. A brigade of doctors headed by Academician Chazov, USSR minister of health, will be sent here to provide relief for [words indistinct]. Relief has been organized by the USSR Red Cross.

Dear comrades, in these extremely (?difficult times) for our republic when (?a disaster) has been added to it, it is very important to maintain self-restraint and order and not to be (?alarmed), but to participate, in an organized manner, in providing relief for the victims.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are doing everything necessary for the [word indistinct] and correct organization of all activities. Today Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and (?responsible officials) of the republic (?left) for the disaster-stricken areas. (?All) the republic's ministries and administrations have been mobilized. [words indistinct] have extended great assistance.

Dear compatriots, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers have instructed me to offer condolences to the families of the victims and to all the Armenian people (?on this great calamity). [passage indistinct].

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers (?mourn together with you) for the innocent victims of this disaster and (?express our certainty) that this time too our (?calamity-stricken) people will display [words indistinct] and will (?help) to overcome the consequences of the earthquake. The Armenian people should [word indistinct] and continue its [words indistinct] life, no matter how [words indistinct].

### Paper Reports Devastation, Aid

*PM0812160788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Dec 88 p 3*

[Report by SELSKAYA ZHIZN special correspondents A. Akhumyan and A. Morgachev: "It Is Not Someone Else's Misfortune"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpts] Armenian SSR—As already reported, there was a severe earthquake 7 December in northern parts of Armenia—the most powerful in the Caucasus in the past 80 years. People have been killed.

Our correspondents report from the areas affected by the earthquake. [passage omitted]

There used to be a rayon center, Spitak. Now it is gone. All that is left is ruins, gray dust, and the groans of the injured... The elevator has been swept off the face of the earth. It is a heap of mangled metal and chunks of concrete. Ambulance sirens are blaring and everywhere there are soldiers, soldiers. They have no time even to wipe the sweat from their faces.

A house stood here. There are children over there, beneath the rubble. A mother raises her hands skyward. It is heartrending; one cannot bear to watch.

Details of the event reached the Ararat Valley toward noon. But they already knew of the earthquake; they had felt its force: Chandeliers swayed, crockery dropped on the floor, walls cracked. But who could have thought such a powerfully devastating wave was sweeping through the mountains! When they heard about it in the valley they immediately decided to take on the job of establishing order and discipline and sending police detachments and troop subunits to assist people in the affected areas of the republic.

"Some 300 police have already gone. Teams of volunteers are now being formed," Araratskiy Party Raykom Second Secretary Tamara Danelyan reported.

This courageous woman had gotten people behind her. Teams of doctors and detachments of drivers of crane trucks and other equipment had been formed promptly and swiftly.

Trucks were streaming toward the mountain areas of Armenia, but, it seemed, so slowly! Those who are still alive but buried in the debris need help now, this minute, immediately. Queues of blood donors have formed in Yerevan. Consignments of tents, clothing, and cooking utensils are being assembled. Thousands of people have been made homeless. A special aircraft has arrived from Moscow. The USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee is giving assistance to the victims, pooling efforts with the USSR Ministry of Public Health, which has sent a team of doctors to Yerevan. The victims have been sent linen, cooking utensils, tents, medical kits, and essential items. Once again one sees that nothing unites people like common grief.

It will take more than a day or two for exact figures to emerge for the casualties, the devastation, and the damage to the republic's economy.

The cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan and Stepanavan, Spitak, Amasiyskiy, Gugark, and adjoining rayons were badly hit. Organized rescue work began in the hours immediately after the earthquake. Temporary medical centers and emergency aid headquarters were set up. The Armenian Nuclear Power Station and chemical enterprises—which people here were particularly worried about—were not affected. The country is doing all it can to eliminate the consequences of the tragedy that has befallen the republic.

### Live Report From Yerevan

*LD0812092488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0640 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[From the "Mayak Panorama" program, presented by Igor Pavlovich Charikov and Khomaryan with correspondent Yuriy Stepanov live on the telephone from Yerevan]

[Text] [Charikov] Now I am calling Yerevan. Hello?

[Yuriy Stepanov] Yes, we hear you.

[Charikov] Nice to hear you, Yuriy. What would you like to tell us today?

[Stepanov] First of all we would like to turn to the material in three republican papers, to do a kind of review of these papers, SOVETSKAYA ARMENIA, the organ of the Central Committee of the republican Communist Party; KOMSOMOLETS, the organ of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee; and SOVETSKAYA SHKOLA, the organ of the republican Ministry of People's Education.

[Khomaryan] Good. But before we embark on this press review, I would like to tell you about one event that naturally is not reflected in the press, because it literally just happened at dawn today. Someone, maybe for a joke or out of malice, telephoned residents of Yerevan and, referring to a report supposed to have been put out on the radio about a new and even more powerful earthquake with its epicenter in Yerevan, suggested that they leave their houses and go out into the street. The anxious people, despite the curfew, naturally spilled out into the streets and stayed there until eight o'clock in the morning, local time, until republican radio publicly refuted these rumors. Incidentally, this instance is typical of Yerevan today, which is rife with all kinds of rumors and fabrications, on top of which there have been more and more new and more improbable details—details in quotation marks, of course—about the natural disaster which has hit Armenia. Meanwhile, the republican papers which have come out today print very prominently material on the earthquake, first and foremost the text of yesterday's address on republican television and radio by Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the specially formed republican commission, and the condolences from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Armenian people. And, as I have just learned from a Mayak radio report, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is cutting short his visit because of the natural disaster in Armenia.

[Stepanov] I would like to add that today's central papers report that the epicenter of the earthquake was 25 kilometers from Leninakan, and that the force of the earthquake measured ten points there. There is a great deal of damage in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, Stepanavan, and (?Lugarka), in all the areas adjacent to the epicenter. There are numerous human casualties. As stated in the address in today's SOVETSKAYA ARMENIA by Comrade Sarkisyan, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers, there is no damage at the Armenian atomic power station or at Yerevan's chemical enterprises. Gas and electricity supplies are operating normally outside of the areas mentioned. All medical establishments and staff have been mobilized. Units of troops have been dispatched to help the victims. Evacuation of the victims by civil and military aircraft, and using all forms of ground transport, has been organized. Local emergency aid switchboards have been set up, supplies of food and warm clothing (?is being arranged), and the necessary quantities of tents, beds, and blankets are being sent. Student construction detachments are being formed.

[Khomaryan] The papers have also published today the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 6 December 1988 on the intolerable actions of officials in local bodies in the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR, forcing citizens to leave their permanent places of residence.

[Stepanov] Naturally, the republican papers have quite full coverage of other problems, too, in particular those connected with interethnic relations and the refugee situation. KOMSOMOLETS, for example, tells what the republic's Komsomol organizations are doing to give help to those who have arrived in Armenia. In particular, students have gained the opportunity to attend lectures on their chosen professions at Armenian higher education establishments. They are being provided with dormitories and grants. New classes are being opened at schools for pupils. At children's sanatoria, 1,600 extra places have been made available. Experienced pediatricians are looking after the health of the children. Well, that is about all that we wanted to tell you today. Of course, the papers publish other material, connected with Armenia's economic and sociocultural life, but I think that the tight framework of our news bulletins does not make it possible for us to reflect them all. But I think we have managed to tell you the main problems.

[Charikov] I think so, too, it really was quite a competent and full review, and in general I think it was not a bad way for listeners to get to know about life in Armenia today. We can only to express regret that we pay virtually no attention, or very little attention, to articles in the republican papers. After all, these press organs are a vast source of information on the life of the peoples of our country. I think that in the future, such a practice would be sensible and useful. Thank you very much, esteemed colleagues in Yerevan, and good-bye.

[Stepanov] All the best.

## Ryzhkov Heads Relief Commission

*LD0712210988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Dec (TASS)—To coordinate work on a union-wide scale on eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia and to give help to those affected, a commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has been set up, headed by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission comprises Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR minister of defense; Yuriy Batalin and Lev Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission has started work.

### Commission Arrives in Yerevan

*LD0812065788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Dec (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission chaired by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived here this morning. It has been formed to coordinate work on an all-union scale to clear up the aftermath of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR and to render help to those who have suffered. On arrival, the commission set off for the disaster area.

### Ryzhkov at Party Meeting on Relief

*LD0812112888 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Yerevan December 8 TASS—A meeting was today held in the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party to discuss the information on the situation in the areas of the Armenian SSR affected by the nature calamity and measures to give emergency relief to the population in restoring the industrial plants, consumer-service establishments and apartment houses which were destroyed by the earthquake.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the meeting.

### Yerevan Curfew Lifted

*LD0812153788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Aleksey Vasilenko dispatch from Yerevan]

[Excerpts] Hello, esteemed listeners, and good evening. I wish you a good evening because it is not a good one in our republic. The whole country knows already about the great misfortune that befell Armenia. An earthquake of an uncommon force has destroyed many towns, settlements, and villages. There are thousands of victims. [passage omitted]

Detachments of volunteers are leaving for the earthquake zone. The curfew has been lifted in Yerevan and military subunits have left to render assistance to those who have suffered. Donor stations are receiving blood from volunteers. The medics have, perhaps, the most responsible task now. Everything is being done in hospitals and other health establishments to give help to those who have suffered. A large group of prominent doctors led by USSR Health Minister Chazov, has arrived in Yerevan. Doctors from Georgia and other places in the country are arriving. Medical students have been mobilized. Student detachments from other higher educational establishments are working to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. Our people's courage, cohesion, and preparedness to give help to friends are being tested once more. This has already taken place more than once. We in Armenia remember a similar situation here after the strong earthquake in Kadzharan and Kafan 280 years ago. [passage omitted]

### Yerevan Bank Account Opened

*NC0812104988 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0940 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] Attention: Account number (?700-412) has been opened by the USSR (?housing) bank at the Armenian State Bank's Yerevan administration.

### Yerevan Residents Offer Aid

PM0812110488 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 December 1988 carries on page 4 a series of reports under the general heading "Earthquake in the Transcaucasus." A 300-word TASS report on the earthquake is followed by a report by D. Pavlov, which reads:

"On receiving this report, we telephoned M. Minasbegyan, first secretary of Yerevan party gorkom. He said:

"'More than 4,500 of Yerevan's inhabitants have already left for the regions affected by the earthquake, to provide assistance. Half of them have gone to the rayon center Spitak, where the devastation was particularly severe. A large quantity of equipment has been sent to the disaster areas—crane, trucks, helicopters... Teams of physicians have been bused in. Our gorkom is constantly receiving calls from enterprises in the city, students, and ordinary citizens—they are setting up groups to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. Hundreds of the city's inhabitants are attending donor centers and giving blood. Unfortunately, we have not yet managed to restore telephone communications with the earthquake regions."

The paper also carries a 100-word TASS report on the USSR Red Cross emergency measures, plus the following report from its own correspondent O. Chikhladze in Tbilisi:

"Yesterday, just before noon, people in apartments and office premises in Tbilisi felt the ground literally disappearing from beneath their feet. Buildings, especially tall buildings, shook with the abrupt underground shocks.

"'The severest shocks—up to 6 points—were recorded at 1141 hours,' A. Akhalbedashvili, chief of Tbilisi Central Seismological Observatory, said. 'On the republic's territory, the epicenter was in Bogdanovskiy Rayon, which borders on Armenia. Here the force of the "underground storm" reached 8 points. No casualties have yet been reported.'"

## PRAVDA on Aid Efforts

*PM0812105388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 12*

[TASS report: "Earthquake in the Transcaucasus"]

[Text] A powerful earthquake occured 7 December at 1041 Moscow time in northern rayons of Armenia. The force of the tremors at the epicenter measured more than 8 points on a 12-point scale. This is the most powerful earthquake in the Caucasus in the last 80 years.

There has been considerable devastation, casualties, and injuries in a number of regions in Armenia. The cities of Leninakan and Kirovakan, and also Spitakskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Amasiyskiy, and Gugarskiy Rayons particularly suffered.

Subterranean tremors were also felt in Yerevan and Tbilisi and in a number of rayons in the Azerbaijan SSR, the Dagestan ASSR, and the Chechen Ingush ASSR.

A government commisson headed by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has been set up to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. Together with republic organs, the commission is taking all requisite steps to organize rescue work and offer assistance to the victims and provide people with shelter and food. Facilities providing people with vital services are being restored first. Volunteers are acting together with troop subunits and civil defense units in reconstruction and rescue work. Medical teaams have been sent into the disaster areas.

In connection with the powerful earthquake that hit the rayons and cities of the Armenian SSR, the USSR Union of the Societies of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent Executive Committee has adopted the decision to offer assistance to the victims, pooling efforts with the USSR Ministry of Health, which has sent a special team of medics to Yerevan.

An aircraft flew out 7 December with a consignment of aid. The victims have been sent linen, cooking utensils, tents, first-aid and rural medical kits, crockery, and other essentials worth R128,000.

## Troops, Volunteers Work Together

*LD0812130688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow, 8 Dec (TASS)—[passage omitted] In the Armenian earthquake area, Soviet troops are carrying out a great deal of work alongside civil defense units and volunteers from the local population. Army General Vladimir Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of USSR rear services, told a TASS correspondent that just a few hours after the tremors field medical posts were in place in tents on the spot and immediately began to provide the necessary aid. Military surgeons have carried out a number of very complicated operations, including some on children, in field conditions.

By this morning the servicemen had set up posts to supply the victims with food. Tents are being put up where people evacuated from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and also a number of rural rayons can find refuge initially. The injured and those who have lost their homes are being housed in barracks, officers' quarters, clubs, cafeterias, and medical posts of a number of garrisons in the military district which were not damaged by the tremors. The victims are being supplied with warm army clothing and underwear.

Hundreds of qualified specialists from the military-medical academy and hospitals of the Leningrad and Moscow military districts have been sent by air this morning to the Transcaucasus to help the medical workers. A specially equipped aircraft has arrived from Tashkent to evacuate the injured.

## Plans To Help Children Outlined

*PM0812155788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Dec 88 p 3*

[O. Frolova report: "Children Are Our First Concern"]

[Text] A few days ago the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee adopted a resolution on measures to provide aid for children from the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. Representatives of various state and social organizations in our country told our correspondent what is being done to provide emergency aid for children from families which have been forced to leave their permanent places of residence to protect them from interethnic strife, and who have now, moreover, suffered an earthquake.

At the AUCCTU press center we were told: The Secretariat has instructed the Central Council for the Management of Trade Union Resorts and Excursions to temporarily place children in sanatoriums, holiday homes, and leisure and tourist facilities in the two republics and also in sanatorium-type pioneer camps in Anapa and Yevpatoriya. This applies to children from families which have been forced to leave their permanent places of residence. Where possible, the children will live with their parents. It has been recommended that, with the agreement of

labor collectives, enterprises, and organizations which have their own sanatoriums and health centers, the question be examined of using these facilities to temporarily accommodate children and parents with children.

All the necessary conditions for the children's stay and tuition are being created and catering and medical services are being organized. The expenditure for this purpose will be covered from the budget of the state social insurance fund. The children's travel to the sanatoriums and other health establishments will be paid for from the trade union budget.

The sanatoriums are getting ready to receive the children. Travel vouchers for these recreational facilities issued earlier to trade union organizations in all republics, krays, and oblasts of the country are being withdrawn.

We are resolving organizational questions of this kind without delay, S. Tsyganov, chairman of the Central Council of the All-Union V.I. Lenin Pioneer Organization, said. More than 4,000 places will also be made available for schoolchildren from Armenia and Azerbaijan in the best Komsomol camps. At the beginning of January the children will be dispatched to the "Orlenok" camp in Krasnodar Kray, "Artek" in the Crimea, "Okean" near Vladivostok, "Zubrenok" in Belorussia, and "Molodaya Gvardiya" in the Ukraine. The Komsomol Central Committee will cover all expenditure, and that includes flight tickets as well as the stay.

At the central production and air traffic control administration of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation the editorial office was told that civil aviation will provide any aircraft for the transportation of children on demand.

G. Fomin, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Railways Main Passenger Administration, has said:

The Ministry of Railways is ready to supply trains at the first request from Armenia and Azerbaijan. Additional special trains will be made up of 20 passenger cars. They will transport children to their temporary accommodation.

P.I. Sirotenko, head of the organizational department of the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund has said:

The fund sees its task in providing social assistance and moral support for children from families affected by the earthquake or forced to leave their permanent places of residence. Social groups are being formed at local level made up of people compassionate toward other people's trouble. Essential assistance and moral support is being provided by members of the Union of Societies of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. Such groups are operating in all the rayons of the republics where families with children are being received.

R250,000 has already been allocated for the children's needs. Part of this money will go on children's clothing. Two Il-76 aircraft will be dispatched from Moscow with essentials for children. That means warm clothing and footwear. The fund will cover part of the expense for additional wages of medical staff at sanatorium-type pioneer camps, tourist establishments, and trade union health centers.

## Republics Aid Victims

*LD0812174188 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Reports about assistance to earthquake-hit regions in Soviet Armenia are coming from all republics of the USSR.

In Leningrad, for instance, an emergency commission has been set up at the chief health department of the city executive committee (municipal council) to extend medical assistance to Armenia.

Surgeons, traumatologists and pediatricians volunteer to go to the stricken areas at any time. Containers with medication and blood substitutes are being collected.

Traumatology and orthopedics clinical institutes and other leading medical centres of the city have set aside more than a thousand beds for the wounded.

The Volga city of Ulyanovsk, the birthplace of founder of the Soviet State Vladimir I. Lenin, opened a special account to raise money for the quake victims. The first hundred thousand roubles has already been registered as individuals and factories, collective and state farms and institutions offer their help.

The money will be used to send a planeload of blankets, fabrics, children's clothing, tents, electric heaters and medication to Yerevan.

Participants in rallies in all Ukrainian cities decide to transfer their day's work pay to help the Armenians. A special plane left for Armenia with ten rescue units from Donbass, the coal industry centre of the Ukraine.

Physicians are preparing beds for the wounded at local hospitals. Plants in the Dnepropetrovsk region are sending earth-moving and other machines needed in rescue operations.

Employees at many enterprises and organisations and representatives of public organisations in Azerbaijan came forward the morning with a proposal for specific practical assistance in overcoming the destructive consequences of the quake.

It has been decided to form multi-ethnic teams to help restore houses damaged by the natural calamity.

Ten sets of mobile petrol stations and more than 10,000 tonnes of fuel and oil products have been sent to Armenia.

A plane from Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, brought a batch of donor blood to Armenia today. Saturday, December 10, has been designated as donor day in Lithuania.

The staff of the blood stations in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipeda claim no pay, the donors will give their blood free of charge.

In Moldavia, workers of the Kishenev Tractor Works, Mezon Plant and a leather goods factory decided to work on Saturday and transfer the money they will earn to the fund of relief for the quake victims.

The initiative has been supported by many enterprises. Women's councils in Kishenev launched a campaign to collect children's clothing. Teams of volunteers are being formed in the city for work in Armenia to help restore the republic's electric supply systems.

All enterprises and organisations which have their own holiday centres offered them for Armenian families.

### Azerbaijan Offers Help

*LD0712204688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1822 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Baku, Dec 7 (TASS)—The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the question of measures connected with the earthquake in Armenia. It took note of the fact that the collectives of enterprises in the cities of Baku, Kirovabad, and Mingechaur have appealed to related enterprises in Armenia with proposals for giving specific practical help.

The party and local soviet organizations in the Azerbijan areas neighboring the Armenian regions have been instructed to arrange and practice contacts for tackling urgently the problems that have arisen as a result of the earthquake. It has been proposed that the Azerbaijani government, ministries, departments, and public organizations search for ways to help to the Armenian areas that have suffered from the earthquake.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has called upon all working people, labor collectives, scientists, representatives of art and literature, and war, party and labor veterans' and young people to show compassion and charity during these difficult days for the Armenian people, and to do all that they can to alleviate the grief that has struck the fraternal people.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the government of the republic have expressed their condolences to the party and local soviet leadership in Armenia. It says:

We are shocked by the news about the disaster that has struck fraternal Armenia—the earthquake that has led to destruction and human casualties.

The working people of Azerbaijan are sharing the grief of fraternal Armenia. Will you accept our profound condolences, pass our sympathy on to the victims, their families, and relatives. During these difficult days, the people of Azerbaijan are prepared to give you all the aid they can to overcome the destructive consequences of the earthquake.

### Uzbekistan Collects Funds

*LD0812111088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] The working people of Uzbekistan received with profound sorrow the news of the earthquake in Armenia. The republic's Red Crescent Society has announced a collection of funds to help the victims. A special bank account has been opened in Tashkent for this purpose. This morning, on behalf of the society, the first transfer of R12,000 was made to Armenia. [passage omitted]

### Georgian Specialists Offer Aid

*LD0812110088 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Tbilisi December 8 TASS—A team of 40—traumatologists, revitalizers, surgeons and nurses, left for Armenia today. The experienced medical team were picked up from the Georgian traumatology centre by noted Soviet traumatologist, Lenin and State Prize laureate Otar Godushauri. Almost all of them are his pupils. His clinic has already accepted the first group of patients from earthquake areas.

The second team, mainly pediatricians, are going to Leninakan, Kirovokan and other natural calamity areas, a TASS correspondent has been told by Minister of Public Health [title as received] of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic I. Menagarishvili. Lorries with trailers with medicines, blood substitutes, blood transfusion single-use systems left for the distress area yesterday. Hundreds of people of different nationalities—Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Russians etc, residing in the republic, expressed the desire to donate blood for the Armenian brothers. Two medical teams left for Bagdanovka and Akhaltsikhe, Georgia's areas bordering on Armenia. Over 200 victims have already been taken to hospitals there. 500 places have been prepared by Tbilisi hospitals, 200—by medical institutions of Rustavi. Other Georgian towns are also ready to accept earthquake victims.

### Rail, Air, Cash Assistance

*LD0812152988 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The earthquake in northern Armenia disrupted the railway network at several sections. Minister of railways Nikolay Konarev told TASS that 40 kilometres of railways and 80 kilometers of contact system were damaged. Station buildings were destroyed in Kirovakan, Leninakan and other places. Two bridges shifted and one viaduct sank. Rolling stock was damaged in the area of the earthquake.

The minister issued orders to give a green light to trains speeding to Armenia on all railways of the country. A train with cement is coming from Siberia, with fuel from Grosnyy, with lorries from Naberezhye Chelnyy, with bulldozers from Chelyabinsk. Wagons are being loaded with building materials, foods and medicines.

Dozens of planes and choppers are heading for Armenia from various parts of the country to render assistance in overcoming consequences of the quake. Information from disaster areas is hourly pouring in to the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation. A helicopter MI-10K, capable of lifting 10- ton cargoes, is working to clear debris.

The USSR Union of Writers joined those who already made their donations to the assistance fund. It sends to Armenia one million roubles. Poet Robert Rozhdestvenskiy, board secretary of the Writers' Union, told TASS that, along with a cash contribution, the union opened an account for personal donations by men of letters. There will be charity events, receipts from which will be donated to quake victims.

### Trade Unions' Extensive Aid Program

*LD0812112688 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The entire country has responded with sympathy to the calamity, a devastating earthquake, that struck the Armenian people on Wednesday.

The nation's trade unions have adopted an extensive programme of emergency relief aid. Here is what Igor Klochkov, secretary of the All-Union Trade Union Council, told a TASS correspondent today:

"The trade unions are ready to provide 50,000 well-appointed places in sanatoriums, tourist hotels and health resort areas as close to the disaster areas as possible, including the Black Sea coast, Soviet Georgia, the Odessa and Nikolayev regions and Moldavia.

This decision was taken so as not to overcrowd big cities and thus create extra difficulties in supplies.

Trade unions will pay for the travel and upkeep of the people affected by the quake. According to preliminary estimates, the figure will exceed half a million roubles per day.

Besides, more than five million roubles from the trade union budget will be set aside for material assistance to the families of the quake victims. A 100-per cent reimbursement of sick-leaves will be introduced.

Special evacuation and accommodation centres are being set up in the cities close to the named health resort areas which have airports. No one spares either effort, or time, or money. The misfortune of the Armenian people is our common misfortune." [quotation marks as received]

The AUCCTU chairman, Stepan Shalayev, and other high- ranking trade union functionaries are leaving into the areas to make necessary arrangements.

### Moscow Komsomol Offers Aid

*LD0812152288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Summary] Headquarters for rendering assistance to the victims of the Armenian earthquake has been set up by the Moscow City Komsomol Committee. It's formed of youth emergency detachments for clearing territory, saving people, and building temporary shelters. The headquarters has organized a blood drive, collection of medicines, and a formation of youth medical detachments.

## Ethnic Unrest Continues in Azerbaijan, Armenia

### Vezirov Addresses Aktivs

*NC0812104088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0703 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Address by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at a meeting held by the Azerbaijan aktivs at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in Baku on 5 December—read by announcer]

[Text] The Baku Gorkom held a plenum a few days ago to examine the situation in our republic's capital. The resolution adopted by the plenum (?was appropriate). The Baku party organization must mobilize to normalize the situation in the city.

What I mean is that the situation continues to be complex as in the past. We were able to obstruct the undesirable direction taken by the development of events in Azerbaijan during the past months. And we mentioned this during the meeting Mikhail Gorbachev had with the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and the leaders of the two republics.

However, the situation has taken a particularly dangerous turn in recent days. There has been bloodshed, and people have been killed. Thousands of people have left the homes of their forefathers. [passage indistinct]

What do those who organize the beating of individuals, the burning of buildings, and other criminal acts wish to achieve? With a full sense of responsibility, I must say that those who have a (?part) in the crimes that have been committed against the people will not remain unpunished.

While mentioning the incidents in (?the republic), including those which have resulted in the deaths of three soldiers and in loss of life and looting in Sheki, it is impossible not to feel a deep sense of aversion and not to condemn such incidents.

Criminal proceedings have been initiated against the individuals who committed arson and organized attacks on [word indistinct] buildings and the procurator's offices in Sheki. A curfew has been imposed in a numbekr of areas in the republic so that public order may be restored and further bloodshed prevented. The state cannot remain indifferent to bloodshed.

The recent political enlightenment days, rallies, and meetings held by leaders at all levels in the work collectives are gradually [word indistinct] the republic's social and political life. A number of the [word indistinct] people are the participants in [word indistinct], meetings, conversations, open debates, and discussions. This is a normal situation under the conditions of openness and democratization.

As for the mass meetings that were held in Lenin Square, it must be said that these were generally well organized. The leaders of the republic, the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers Presidium, the secretaries of the republic's Central Committee, and other party, soviet, and economic workers and cultural employees addressed the meetings. Many issues concerning various aspects of our lives were debated. We acquainted ourselves carefully with these matters.

The people discussed the situation of Azerbaijanis living uneasily in Armenia, and they put forward proposals for [words indistinct] of those who were forced to leave their homeland and come to our republic.

This was (?in order to implement) the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July 1988, which confirmed that the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] belonged to the Azerbaijan SSR.

However, a number of forces drew completely wrong conclusions on this regard. The recent incidents in Khodzhaly, Tophana, and other areas are in our favor. I would note that we share the uneasiness of the participants in the meetings on all global and practical matters which concern them. There was no difference between what the right-thinking people said in the rallies and the views that the communists put forward during the meetings held in party [word indistinct], rayon and city party conferences, and work collectives. [passage indistinct]

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government have been carefully studying and considering the practical proposals that have been put forward at the meetings and rallies that were held in Baku and other cities and rayons. Relevant decisions have been adopted in connection with many of the proposals. I would like to reiterate that the proposals and requests of the republic's communists and workers have been actively considered in accordance with the documents we approved during the last two plenums of the republic's Central Committee.

More than 8,600 proposals were conveyed to the republic's Central Committee, Council of Ministers, organizations, and mass media organs during the preparation that was made for the plenum on the question of social housing. All of them have been summarized in general and included in the documents of the plenum. [passage indistinct]

The appeal recently made to the republic's party organization, workers, and people for [words indistinct], resolute struggle against neglect, and the purging of the ranks of the cadres, and the measures taken to speed up the republic's social development, have been very negatively received by those opposed to the reconstruction course. We have very important plans for improving the life of the people. You are aware of the decision that was adopted by the recent Central Committee plenum held to accelerate the resolution of the housing problem. A health program will be put forward for general popular debate in the near future. A large number of problems have accumulated in that field in the republic. [passage indistinct]

Will it not be in the interest of the people of Azerbaijan if the health program, housing plans, plans to supply villages with gas, and the program for consolidating environmental conditions are improved? [passage indistinct] We shall not turn back from this course. We shall consistently implement the measures required for the moral development of our people and ensure that the problems related to their language and history are resolved. We shall improve the work of the universities. The first steps that have been taken in this direction have had positive effects on progress in entrance examinations. We intend to carry out reforms in the Academy of Sciences and scientific administrations.

The opponents of reconstruction see all our intentions and plans as a real threat to their positions and (?privileges). They are now cooperating with the organizers of the Krunk and NKAO movements and provoking people

to create disturbances. These elements are sparing no effort to disrupt stability. Furthermore, they do not hesitate to use democratization and openness for (?inauspicious) purposes. They are fanning nationalist feelings and using [words indistinct] in an effort to have reconstruction halted. They are the cause of the tragic situation of many families who have left the homes of their forefathers and Armenian and Azerbaijan. They are to blame for [words indistinct] and the death of tens of people. [passage indistinct]

The causes of the interethnic dispute in the region and ways of removing the discord were discussed and analyzed in depth during the meeting [in Moscow]. All the matters that were brought up were accorded great regard and attention. A realistic assessment was made in connection with the incidents. It must be said that, as we have read in the press, it was noted once again during the debate on the ways of resolving the NKAO problem, that the alteration of the borders of the Azerbaijan SSR in any way is impermissible. [passage indistinct]

Guaranteeing security for all the nationalities in the two republics is one of the priority tasks. Thousands of people, who have been alarmed by the incidents and misled on many occasions, need to have their citizenship rights protected. These people have to be calmed, and a feeling of confidence must be inspired in them.

This matter was debated by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. B. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, participated in the meeting. The government commission he leads visited Armenia for 2 days and resolved matters concerning the security of the Azerbaijani people in that republic.

I would like to inform you that a special situation has been declared and that a curfew has been imposed in 17 of the Armenian SSR's rayons which have mixed populations. All required measures are being taken to guarantee the security of the citizens. Comrade Shcherbina also visited the Nakhichevan ASSR and met with people who had left Armenia. All the pressing problems have been resolved in a practical way. In short, the commission is carrying out strenuous but useful work.

We have been employing and we will continue to employ the full force of the law against individuals who provoke interethnic (?discord) and who allow people to be dismissed from work because of their ethnic origin. We believe that it is due to a serious mistake on our part that such illegal activities have occurred in Baku, the city of internationalist residents. [passage indistinct]

The deliberate rumors and fabrications that poison the minds of the people must be effectively obstructed. [passage indistinct]

Believing that they will not be punished, elements who resort to hooligan activities are becoming more undisciplined and [words indistinct]. They are (?stopping) buses, beating people, and entering into establishments and offices to force people out onto the streets. [passage indistinct]

What are the activities of the hooligan bands in the streets? Are they democracy? This is why we cannot help the refugees. This is why we cannot carry out our tasks in the republic.

(?It has been determined that in addition to individuals who create significant uneasiness), the number of people who do not have [word indistinct] and a moral right to live in the capital are not few. I am not talking about the urgent need for helping the people in houses around the Lenin Square, people who suffered from heart diseases and from the horrible absence of sanitary conditions. Apart from this, a curfew was imposed, and the law must be obeyed. A decision was made to clean the square, and this has been accomplished.

It was then that rumors and fabrications were circulated to the effect that tanks ran people over and that there were casualties.

I say, officially, that regardless of the presence of technical machinery, none was employed. Rumors about deaths are unfounded. [passage indistinct]

Much work is being carried out these days to receive and resettle the Azerbaijani families from Armenia and to help them reorganize their lives. Special commissions headed by the chairman of all the rayispolkoms have been set up to resolve the problems of these people. Significant material resources, [word indistinct], and clothing are being made available for them. Meanwhile, we have been receiving large amounts of provisions, construction materials, and other products from the central authorities. We believe that helping the people in need is the main task of the leadership and all our people. [passage indistinct]

We shall work to see to it that the families who have moved from the NKAO return to their homes. As it is said, the people must return to their own homeland. The main task of the party aktivs and party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs is to use every means to guarantee security for all our people. We have seen who are communists, who are known as Baku residents, and who sows the seeds of interethnic (?discord). I believe that the work collectives and administrative organs will continue to outline their historic decisions in the future. [passage indistinct]

As stated by Mikhail Gorbachev during his meeting with the deputies, it is necessary to [words indistinct] and to see to it that the progress of the incidents is obstructed. It is necessary to restore the rhythm of work [words indistinct]. All the activities resorted to by instigators must be resolutely resisted.

The past few days have convincingly shown that we can move in that direction. We say now that all our cadres must adopt a determined stand on important matters such as [words indistinct]. Unless cadres alter their stand, the situation will not change. This is due to the effect that they have on the situation in the work collectives and on the psychology of the people.

Meanwhile, by giving space to provocative calls, our press organs are fanning disturbances by increasing tension. The Central Committee Bureau examined this matter from principled positions and adopted a relevant decision. [passage indistinct]

I appeal to all the republic's workers to call on them to meet the demands of reconstruction. [Words indistinct] has said that a struggle is being waged for revolutionary changes. We have promised to carry out reforms. But it must be said that a counterrevolutionary effort exists and that it is obstructing the progress of the reforms that have been put into effect. [passage indistinct]

## Baku Commandant Interviewed

*PM0712202988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 6*

[Interview with Major General B.L. Aleksandrov, deputy military commandant for political affairs of the Baku special district, by unnamed TASS corresponent: "With the Support of the Majority of the People"; date not given; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The capital of Azerbaijan is living under a curfew. The situation in the city is subject to dynamic changes, it is characterized by a certain stabilization at one moment, and rising tension at another. A TASS correspondent asked Maj Gen B.L. Aleksandrov, deputy commandant for political affairs of the Baku special district, to assess the situation to date.

Baku—[Aleksandrov] I am against dramatizing the situation in the capital of Azerbaijan, against conveying the impression that it is marked by extreme tension, V.L. Aleksandrov said. I can say firmly and unequivocally: The situation in the city is getting back to normal.

With every passing day the number of enterprises which are operating increases. Teaching is resuming at VUZ's, technical colleges, and agricultural vocational and technical schools. The number of rumors causing panic and of blatant lies concocted in the heat of nationalist passions is decreasing. People who have succumbed to the influence of nationalist forces are beginning to realize who is leading them, and where.

However, 5 December, after the V.I. Lenin Square had been cleared, fabrications were spread in the city about the servicemen having used arms. A certain section of the population, especially young people, believed this and created disturbances again. Thanks to the resolute actions of the military personnel the disturbances were checked and the situation was stabilized.

It must be stated that the majority of Baku inhabitants, displaying the great wisdom of their people, have from the very first days of the proclamation of the special situation and the curfew supported this decision and favored a normalization of the situation. And today the working class and the absolute majority of the population want order, discipline, and a normalization of the situation, we are convinced of this.

[Correspondent] I have seen servicemen in all sorts of situations. They acted resolutely and courageously, but at the same time they behaved respectfully toward their elders, women, and the working class. In this context, how would you characterize the mutual relations between servicemen and the population?

[Aleksandrov] The attitude toward the military personnel is on the whole benevolent. The most mature section of the population is thanking the servicemen for their courage and restraint demonstrated in the conditions of the special situation and the curfew. At the same time the fruitfulness of the measures being taken is undermined by the indecision, and in a number of cases even the connivance, of individual Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and certain soviet organs.

We treasure the memory of Lieutenant B. Gusev and others who have died, having sacrificed their lives in a situation that was clearly provoked by extremists. Today, too, threats against servicemen can sometimes be heard, and attempts to provoke conflicts can be seen.

However, we understand that they do not come from the people but from individuals who are trying to counter restructuring and kindle interethnic strife. Proletarian Baku, however, is displaying profoundly internationalist qualities and expressing approval for the actions of Soviet servicemen to maintain order in the city and to avert bloodshed.

[Correspondent] What, in your view, is the most acute problem today?

[Aleksandrov] The refugee problem has taken on a special urgency. Both sides have hurled insults at each other, people are quitting places where they have lived for a long time. The time has come to stop and think.

I have seen the tears and privations of Azerbaijani citizens who have abandoned their homes, land, and family graves in villages on Armenian territory. On the other hand the exodus of citizens of Armenian nationality from Azerbaijan is not subsiding either. It is necessary to come to our senses, and this often also calls for civic courage and maturity.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution dated 5 December sets the task of resolutely halting the most flagrant violations of citizens' constitutional rights and preventing unlawful dismissals and the forced departure of citizens on the basis of their ethnic origin. For this, grim responsibility will inevitably be exacted in accordance with the law. A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, drew attention to precisely this fact in his speech on republic television 5 December.

I would like to stress once again that the troops have arrived in Baku not to quell people's demonstrations but to protect the honor, dignity, and lives of all citizens irrespective of their ethnic origin. To this end a special situation and curfew have been introduced in a number of additional areas in Azerbaijan where people of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality live side by side.

We believe that peace and tranquility will enter our common home, Azerbaijani territory, which is inhabited by a wise and proud people.

### 'Mob' of 'Thousands' Noted

*LD0812104588 Yerevan International Service in Armenian*
*1630 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] According to information provided by the Yerevan military commandant, [words indistinct]. No incident connected with the curfew hours has been noted. A curfew is in force in 16 rayons in Armenia.

As for the situation in Azerbaijan, the military command representative noted that a mob of thousands in Baku attempted to rush into Lenin Square. Hooligan elements incited [word indistinct] here. They have tried to break down the industrial enterprises and transportation work. There have been clashes between the military and the local population. Military vehicles have been stoned in Baku. Curses and insults have been hurled at military servicemen, and many people are leaving the city. Subway stations are being surrounded, and the public (?services network) has been shut down. The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast remains as before. Strikes continue (and there is no public transportation).

### Army Paper Updates Situation

*PM0712204588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 4*

[Reports from Azerbaijan by Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga and Armenia by Major O. Vladykin under the general headline: "Our Special Correspondents Report From Transcaucasia"]

[Text]

**AZERBAIJAN**

The situation in Baku remains complex. As has already been reported, in the capital of Azerbaijan measures have been taken to clear the V.I. Lenin Square of the people who had organized there an essentially never-ending rally unsanctioned by the organs of power. What were these measures? The appropriate ones for the situation. Some 542 people had to be detained. But agitators promptly launched a rumor throughout the city—and indeed throughout remote areas of the republic as well—that people had even been killed during the clearing of the square. This is a deliberate lie; it is slander.

Nevertheless, there are among the city's inhabitants, particularly the young people, some who eagerly pounce upon the provocative version of events and believe the fabrications. Groups of disorderly hooligans have emerged in the republic's capital who are penetrating—and frequently simply breaking their way into—the territory of enterprises, attempting to disrupt a work rhythm which is only being restored with difficulty, mounting pogroms in individual state institutions, and overturning motor vehicles. The position of the extremists is simple: to prevent the restoration of order and the stabilization of the situation, and to complicate the solution of all the problems. And currently the most acute of these is the refugee problem.

I asked Colonel N. Kozhemyakin, representative of the Baku special district commandant, to relate the events of the past 24 hours. He told me: "In a number of instances soldiers have been forced to use firearms to put a halt to the actions of hooligan elements. Warning shots are usually enough. Sometimes the excesses are of an extremely acute nature. There have been three deaths among the civilian population. They represent different nationalities. There are also some injuries. Fourteen soldiers and 30 civilians received injuries of varying degrees of severity. On the whole, however, despite this alarming data, the situation is improving. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan's capital are displaying prudence. Almost all enterprises are operating, although not all labor collectives are fulfilling the plans or striving to achieve their normal labor productivity. Both the republic and the country are suffering great economic losses. To these must be added the material losses suffered by many families, particularly the refugees. A difficult and bitter time for everyone."

One cannot fail to remark that, with the exception of the extremists and agitators, the inhabitants of Baku are displaying understanding of the difficult mission resting on the shoulders of the soldiers at this time. In extreme conditions only the troop subunits have been capable of reacting swiftly to any eventuality, of averting an unfavorable and altogether unpredictable development of events.

I met with Bakhtiyar Bagabzade, a deputy of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and people's poet of Azerbaijan. We talked about many things. In particular I was interested in the opinion of a poet and scholar regarding the role the army is playing at this time.

"Any right-minded individual," B. Bagabzade said, "cannot fail to understand that the soldiers are concerned for our tranquillity. Our children, our sons have come to us wearing their shoulder straps. They have come to help us. I look attentively into the eyes of the soldiers and the officers. And I see sincere sympathy for the ordinary individual. Many people are saying thank you to the Army today. There will come a time, when the events have been interpreted over and over again—and everyone will be saying thank you to the soldiers."

**ARMENIA**

The situation remains tense in places where Armenians and Azeris live side by side on the territory of the Armenian SSR. In 16 rayons of the republic a curfew is in effect. There are casualties as a result of clashes. Military medics are tending the injured.

The influx into the republic of citizens of Armenian nationality who have abandoned their homes in Azerbaijan continues. It is this migration of families which is affecting people's mood most of all and hampering the stabilization of the situation. This was discussed at a session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The session also examined a number of personnel questions concerning certain senior party and soviet officials who have failed to adopt measures to stem the disorders.

As Colonel M. Surkov, Yerevan deputy commandant for political affairs, has noted, the attitude toward the troops everywhere is one of loyalty. Agitation and propaganda groups set up by the command and the political organs are working actively among the population. Mutual understanding is strengthening. Meetings between servicemen and workers and employees at various enterprises are being held regularly and are proving useful. Assault troops from the batallion where Guards Captain V. Melnichenko is deputy commander for political affairs, for instance, have met with workers from the Yerevan die stamp and mold plant. Many questions were asked. Guards Captain Melnichenko literally amazed everyone with his knowledge of Armenian history, especially when he spoke Armenian. It is true that the servicemen are currently trying to learn as much as possible about the life of the peoples of Transcaucasia for the sake of whose tranquillity they are doing their difficult service.

When this article was being transmitted (around 1100 hours Moscow time) an earthquake occurred on the territory of Armenia. Two shockwaves were registered in Yerevan. Force five, say the specialists. The earthquake's epicenter was located approximately in the area of Kirovakan. Reports have arrived about damage and human casualties. And again military units are on the move. It is necessary to help people. Without delay. Columns of engineering equipment are being swiftly formed.

## 8 Dec Update on Baku, Yerevan

*PM0712192188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 3*

[Reports by special correspondents V. Andriyanov and D. Melikov in Baku and Ye. Kubichev and N. Ordinyan in Yerevan under the general headline: "Strengthening Confidence"]

[Text]

**BAKU**

During the last 2 days, Tuesday and Wednesday [6 and 7 December], Baku has been strikingly different from what is was before. Calm reigns in the streets. Transport is working almost normally; all enterprises are operating. In short, the turning point has arrived. This is the result of the measures ensuing from the familiar resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, the great job done by party committees and thousands upon thousands of activists, and the resolute actions of the labor collectives themselves, and, of course, the servicemen who are ensuring the rule of law and observance of public order.

The large seaside city is gradually recovering its traditionally friendly and hospitable appearance. Flower kiosks have opened (red carnations can frequently be seen on the armored personnel carriers), the deserted Baku markets are filling up again, and there are lots of people in the bookstores. Popular recent editions include a collection of poems by the talented Azerbaijani poet Vakhid Aziz "Shadow of My Hands." He muses about love, faithfulness, and his native city, and writes with warmth also about Yerevan.

The Baku inhabitants have been won over by the correctness and courtesy of the servicemen, who are doing their difficult and essential duty round the clock. We have been told this by many people. Very young guys—men, officers, cadets... It is they who stand guard at intersections, metro stations, on trolleybuses... More than once we have witnessed touching scenes where young and old people came up to servicemen, offered them national sweetmeats and cigarettes, and invited them into their homes to warm up out of the squally Caspian north wind.

"For me these guys are like my own children," Mother-Heroine Pyustyakhanum Emirbekova, rod-maker at the P. Montin machine building plant, confides. "I can

imagine how their mothers must worry about them. They should know that we have received their sons as if they were our own. We will surround them with warmth and care."

We also heard about the good collaboration between the servicemen, the milita, and the city's inhabitants in our conversation with V. Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs.

"People understand the situation which has developed," Vasiliy Petrovich told us. "Many are actively helping to maintain order, and I regard this as the main thing. A city with a population of almost 2 million inhabitants cannot be placed under lock and key. The main thing now is to reduce tension in the city as much as possible and to guarantee safety for everyone irrespective of their nationality. The actions of the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Ministries of Internal Affairs are being constantly coordinated. The paramount concern is to ensure normal conditions for people at their permament places of residence. The efforts of local party and soviet organs and law enforcement forces are focused on this now. Only in this way can the migration of the population from the two republics be curbed."

The two latest CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions aimed at stabilizing the situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's and upholding Soviet people's constitutional rights have met with enthusiastic approval in labor collectives.

"Prosecutor's office staffers have visited literally all Baku enterprises," A. Aliyev, the city prosecutor says. "The aim has been to warn everyone most severely about their liability for persecuting citizens on the basis of their national affiliation and for kindling of ethnic strife. This was precisely what 'Elektroshtamp' plant worker Mamedov was prosecuted for. The struggle against those who are calling for strikes and violations of labor legislation is mounting," Alish Abbasovich said in conclusion.

Labor collectives—and in Baku they are all international—are trying to rally people and provide support for everyone in this difficult hour. Here is just one characteristic story: At the Novobakinskiy petrochemical plant named for Vladimir Ilich, M. Seynyan, a foreman, decided to resign. Learning about this, literally the whole shift was indignant. The comrades told Mikhail, with whom they had worked for many years, that they would stick up for him. And the foreman decided to stay at his plant.

We had not made an appointment to meet G. Akopyan, chief designer at the Baku electrical machine building plant. He came up to us himself when he heard that journalists had arrived at the plant.

"My father is buried in Azerbaijan. All my life is linked with Baku. I came to the Baku electrical machine building plant as a young specialist and I can now look back on almost 30 years of joint, harmonious work. I owe everything in my life to this plant. Nobody could ever say that people are punished or promoted at this plant merely because of their ethnic origin. The heart and the mind refuses to comprehend ethnic alienation. In our design bureau there is an international collective. We are just completing the design of new electric motors. It is a design which is on a par with world standards and it was created in a joint quest by Azeris, Russians, and Armenians...

## YEREVAN

It is not easy to leave your native home, it is hard to bid farewell to friends with whom you have lived and worked for many years and even decades, and to depart for the unknown—especially when no one is driving you away and local leaders have done everything to caution you against premature actions. This is what Arsen Oganyan, acting director general of the Spitak clothing production association told me.

The day before he had watched the departure of inhabitants of Spitakskiy Rayon's Saral village in Armenia in a swap with Armenians living in the large village of Chardakhly on Azerbaijani territory. In an atmosphere of perfect order and guaranteed safety people were nonetheless, somehow resignedly, loading their belongings onto trucks and seating their children in buses put at their disposal. And on the road their Armenian comrades and friends were waiting. Waiting from 11 o'clock at night until 5 o'clock in the morning. Waiting, to bid them farewell...

"I recognized our shop foreman Samvel Etibaryan and agroprom worker Arshaluys Bartanyan in the crowd. They stood there all night in order not to miss the departure of the trucks, in order to exchange a few words, or just to wave good-bye," A. Oganyan told me. "It was a painful parting because there was no sense in it. We have always lived in peace and harmony with the Azeris. There have been no clashes, no conflicts of an interethnic nature."

But they are leaving. On 6 December alone 412 families (2,099 people) left the republic. This means that some inflammatory forces are at work astutely and secretly, sowing fear and uncertainty among the inhabitants of Azerbaijani villages.

Meanwhile the situation in the republic in the last 24 hours has been characterized by complete calm. According to the official reports we have received, no pogroms or cases of arson have been recorded, there are no dead or injured, and no one has suffered bodily harm. Of 527 people investigated during the curfew 108 were detained until morning, and no one has been arrested. There has not been a single case of the discovery of side arms.

The influx of Armenian migrants from Azerbaijan is continuing. From the start of the events through 6 December their numbers have grown to 105,450, while the number of Azeris who have left is 67,825.

To promote the further stabilization of the situation and to explain to people the point and importance of the resolutions adopted by the party and government and aimed at normalizing the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party has sent the cream of the intelligentsia—over 100 academicians, corresponding members, doctors of sciences, representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and war and labor veterans—to the cities and rayons. These people have performed a large amount of explanatory work in labor and creative collectives and among servicemen in the garrisons.

In Yerevan ARMENPRESS has begun to publish a special "Information Bulletin." It is being published in a mass circulation in two languages, Armenian and Russian, and is distributed free in labor collectives and through the Soyuzpechat kiosks. The bulletin's task is to give the most current information on the situation in the republic and to widely propagandize and explain the decisions being taken and which are aimed at the complete normalization of the situation.

The earthquake on Armenia's territory yesterday was an unexpected factor causing extreme complications. According to preliminary data its epicenter is 25 km northwest of Leninakan. Tremors in excess of force six were felt in Yerevan for 10-15 seconds. There are no casualties or any noticeable or serious damage in the city. Telephone communications with several of the republic's regions were broken and military helicopters were promptly dispatched there to ascertain the situation. According to fragmentary reports which have come in there is some destruction locally. A hospital suffered in Stepanavan City, but there are no reports of casualties. The situation at the Armenian AES, constructed with consideration for the region's seismicity, is entirely normal and is not giving rise to alarm. The situation in Yerevan is calm. All industrial enterprises and the entire city infrastructure is operating.

An Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session, which at 1145 local time—at the moment of the earthquake—briefly interrupted its work to clarify the situation, promptly formed a government commission headed by F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

### Armenia Migrant Issue

*LD0712161988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Correspondents 6 December dispatches from Yerevan, Baku]

[Text] [Announcer] The situation in Armenia and in Azerbaijan has created yet another complex problem, the problem of migrants. Our correspondents Khuryan Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov report from Yerevan:

[Korotkov] According to data from the republican commission, over 100,000 people have so far already migrated to Armenia and this is not a final figure because both the airports and railway stations are continuing to receive migrants. Commissions which have been created in all of the republic's towns and rayons are at the moment carrying out a great deal of work. Today we visited Ashtarakskiy rayon where we met one of the commission members, (Pavel Nazaryan), chief of the agitation and propaganda department of the raykom.

[Begin recording] [(Nazaryan)] This is creating very difficult conditions for us and for ideology workers but it also puts obligations on us. At the moment we are working right on the buses as they arrive. We work at that time and we work at their residences with them. We talk with them and we explain that the situation which has developed is such that it is now somehow difficult to work with them. We must help them so that things settle down, so that this mood among the people disappears, so as to return these people, if possible, to their homes.

[Khomaryan] And does their moral and psychological state today allow you to hope that they may return in the near future? Are they expressing a readiness to return?

[(Nazaryan)] We have talked to very many people. Such a situation requires steps from the other side. Definite work is required, not in words but in deeds. It is possible that some of these people will return.

[Khomaryan] The 5 December decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which demands that the leadership of both republics put a resolute stop to the most flagrant violations of citizens' constitutional rights and take all the necessary measures to avoid their repetition in the future is very timely. [end recording]

[Announcer] The situation in the Azerbaijan SSR also remains tense. Listen to a reportage by our correspondents Sergey Omelchenko and Islam Kuliyev:

[Omelchenko] I have here in my hands the latest report of the military commandant of the special district Baku. An explanation is given here for the events which have taken place over the last 2 days and nights. After operations to clear Lenin Square of people illegally holding a meeting, where 542 persons were detained—and not arrested, as was circulated in rumors—firebrands continued to spread the loathsome lie that supposedly there were casualties during the clearing of this square. Many credulous inhabitants, especially young people, believed this slander and joined a group of hooligans committing excesses who burst into works premises in order to disrupt work rhythm; they carried out pogroms on indivudual state establishments and private homes, smashing windows and overturning cars. Material loss was inflicted on individual buildings.

[Kuliyev] During the disorders and operations to halt them, troops were forced to use special means to protect themselves from attack. According to preliminary data, 14 servicemen and 30 civilians suffered, receiving physical injuries of varying severity. Thanks to the measures taken and the good sense of the [word indistinct] majority of the inhabitants of Baku, the situation began to improve and stabilized somewhat. This all took place yesterday while today it has been peaceful in the town since morning. An ordinary working day is in progress. The actions of the pickets and provocateurs are being halted in timely fashion.

[Omelchenko] [Word indistinct] met with the commandant of the first section of the special district in the town of Baku, Vitaliy Viktorovich (Losun). Vitaliy Viktorovich, what is the situation now?

[(Losun)] The situation remains complex. Tension has eased but the need for the presence of servicemen remains. The situation is stabilizing. The majority of enterprises are working. At the same time there are instances where provocateurs and firebrands are spreading slander. The people are tired of never-ending meetings and I am convinced that the people of Baku will soon introduce order.

[Kuliyev] Have many people been detained in the last few days?

[(Losun)] There are people who have been detained but the final results have not yet been summed up. People are getting used, with difficulty, to the special situation and to those restrictions which are being placed on them. We detain violators of public order and deliver them to the internal affairs bodies and there the degree of harm of each one is ascertained and correspondingly measures of pressure are selected.

[Omelchenko] Vitaliy Viktorovich, the whole country is following the events in the Transcaucasus region and here in Baku with anxiety and pain. The parents of those serviceman who are serving here today are, of course, particularly suffering. How are they? How are things for them?

[(Losun)] I have to tell you that all the servicemen who are here are fulfilling a difficult task and correctly understand the demands made of them. Good living conditions have been created. The servicemen are provided with all essentials. Today the rapid reestablishment of a normal rhythm of life depends on all of us. This is our one and only aim.

[Announcer] We need to add to what has been said that both reportages were received by us from the correspondents yesterday. We will without fail tell you about today's events in subsequent programs and latest news bulletins.

## Interrepublic Railways Disrupted

*PM0712145788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 1*

[V. Belov report: "Restraint and Responsibility"]

[Text] At a Ministry of Railways telephone conference held yesterday, Railways Minister N. Komarov noted in particular the discipline, restraint, responsibility, and state-minded approach to work being shown in the current situation by all railroad workers in Armenia and Azerbaijan. They have been performing their duty honorably, aware of the fact that the USSR's railroads are an integrated organism supporting the normal operation of the national economy of all republics and the normal life of all the country's cities and villages. If one link in this chain is broken, it will inevitably affect the others, not to mention the losses caused to those who are waiting for goods.

Yet there have been attempts to disrupt the movement of trains on the Yerevan-Nakhichevan-Baku railroad. One night some young thugs used excavators and bulldozers to block the track with stones, gravel, and rocks in 32 places in the area of Megri station in the Armenian SSR. Freight trains were stopped for 77 hours there and passenger trains were halted for 93 hours. In the region of Norashen station in Nakhichevan ASSR no freight trains moved for 79 hours and passenger trains were out of action for 118 hours.

There have been instances in which crowds of people blocked the track and would not let trains through in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. Station masters, staff, and party and soviet organ workers went to see those people and explained to them the utter senselessness of their actions, which verge on breaches of the law. There have been instances in which drivers taking trains from one republic to the other have been beaten up. To prevent disturbances of public order it has sometimes been necessary to transfer passengers from trains to buses, to change train crews, and to send them out with an armed guard.

Tribute must be paid to the railroad workers, who resisted the extremists' provocation. Nevertheless, there have been losses. In the last few days of November the Azerbaijan railroad lost R240,000 in revenue and the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasus railroad lost R2.1 million.

The situation on the Armenian and Azerbaijani railroads is back to normal now, although tension persists. It is encouraging that sober-minded people have been heard at rallies in Baku and Yerevan urging their fellow citizens not to disrupt the work of railroad transport on the grounds that it is essentially an extraterritorial matter. Especially now, after the publication of the USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and Komsomol Central Committee resolution on assistance to Azerbaijani and Armenian children from families forced to leave their

homes, because it is the railroads which bear the main burden of transporting them to the country's sanatoriums, leisure centers, and young pioneer camps.

## Further on Plight of Refugees in Transcaucasia

### 100,000 Armenians in Azerbaijan

*LD0712185888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1713 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Bad days are short-lived. Here is a report by our correspondent, [name indistinct]:

[Correspondent] I want to begin my report with information from AZERINFORM published in the press today. To date, 23,000 families—in other words, more than 100,000 refugees—have arrived in Azerbaijan from the Armenia SSR. Some of these families have changed their apartments, received water [word indistinct] and land, [word indistinct] with their relatives. But more than half of refugees—76,000 people—still have not been settled. [passage omitted]

### Meeting Considers Refugees' Needs

*NC0812112388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Thousands of families have recently left their places of birth and became refugees. They acted in this way as a result of the provocations of the open enemies of the reconstruction course. At the present time Azerbaijan's party, soviet, economic, and social organizations are concerned with the question of meeting their needs, resettling them, and providing them with work.

AZERINFORM's regular meeting was devoted to these matters. Representatives of the commission set up to help the refugees, the military command, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the [word indistinct] and Red Crescent societies, the republic's bank, and mass media organs participated in the meeting.

The newspapers published reports on the meeting under the rubric: Let Us Help as Much as We Can.

### Plight of Refugees Cited

*LD0712145988 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The refugee problem in the Caucasus is assuming continually greater proportions. A spokesman from the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry said in a telephone call to the German press agency (DPA) in Moscow that since February over 100,000 Azerbaijanis have fled from Armenia to Azerbaijan and also that about 20,000 Armenian families have left Azerbaijan. The spokesman reported that 100 airplanes are in use on the route between the two capitals Baku and Yerevan. Special trains have also been put on. The Commission for Refugees formed by the Moscow government began its activity in the Caucasus.

Apparently people were also fleeing in convoys, with only the most essential belongings, over the snow-covered mountain passes between the two Caucasus republics. According to information from the Azerbaijan Interior Ministry, unprotected convoys of refugees were even attacked. There were reports that refugees lost their lives while crossing the passes. Numerous refugees suffered from frostbite.

### Shcherbina Chairs Refugee Session

*LD0812150788 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] The newspaper reports that there has been a session in Tbilisi of the all-union government commission on the provision of assistance to that part of the population of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSRs who were obliged to leave their places of permanent residence in these republics. The session was chaired by Shcherbina, the chairman of the commission, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

At the session of the government commission Shcherbina (?reported on visits to) certain rayons in Georgia and Armenia through which people leaving their former places of residence pass on their way to new residences in Armenia and Azerbaijan. There were frank conversations with those leaving and with local residents. Specific requests and wishes were heard. Responses to these matters were urgently given.

During the session reports were heard from (?Kanidze), chairman of the corresponding republican commission, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and the heads of union ministries and departments who are members of the government commission. The all-union government commission noted the great deal of work which is being done in the republic to provide housing and to organize food, medical, and other services for citizens who had to leave their permanent residences. Specific shortcomings were pointed out, eradication of which would make it possible to alleviate the difficulties being experienced by those people left homeless.

The government commission is continuing its work.

## Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Forced To End

*PM0712135188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 Nov 88 p 3*

[Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution: "On Terminating the Work of the Sitting of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Considering the abrupt deterioration in the situation in the Azerbaijan SSR and a number of regions of the Armenian SSR, where clashes are taking place on

ethnic grounds, and aware of its responsibility to preserve public order and ensure people's safety, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

To terminate the work of the sitting of the 8th session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, until the situation returns to normal, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies being required to return to their localities and take urgent practical measures to prevent interethnic clashes in their regions;

To resume the work of the 8th session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, after the normalization of the situation in the republic.

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

22 November 1988, Yerevan

### 24 Nov Sitting Deemed 'Illegal'

*PM0712141188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 Nov 88 p 3*

[Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution: "On the Illegal Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Sitting of 24 November 1988"—KOMMUNIST headline]

[Text] In connection with the deterioration in the situation in the Azerbaijan SSR and a number of regions of the Armenian SSR, where clashes are taking place on ethnic grounds, the 8th session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, unanimously adopted the decision on 22 November 1988 to terminate the sitting and resume work after the normalization of the situation. Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies were instructed to return to their localities and take urgent measures.

However, despite the further escalation and abrupt deterioration in the situation in the region, an illegal sitting of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet was held on 24 November 1988 in the building of the A. Spendiarov State Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet. Patent pressure was brought to bear on some deputies in order to ensure the necessary "attendance."

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

Guided by Clause 2 of Article 109 of the Armenian SSR Constitution, Articles 4 and 5 of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Regulations, and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 22 November 1988, to consider the sitting held on 24 November 1988 in the building of the A. Spendiarov State Academy Theater of Opera and Ballet illegal.

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

25 November 1988, Yerevan

### Armenian KGB Party Organization Convenes

*PM0612105188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 4*

[R. Karagezyan report: "Much Work Ahead: Report and Election Meeting of Armenian SSR KGB Party Organization"]

[Text] The 19th all-union party conference outlined ways of further deepening restructuring and the democratization of Soviet society's entire sociopolitical life. Chekists are also actively participating in the restructuring process along with all the Soviet people. The 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum rated the state security organs' work highly, noting that they have ideologically tempered cadres who are devoted to the party and the people and are professionally trained. That judgment also applies to the collective of the Armenian SSR KGB—one such detachment of Soviet Chekists.

The course of restructuring in the activity of the republic's KGB was the subject of a principled and businesslike discussion at the committee's report and election party meeting.

The report, which was delivered by V. Arutyunyan, secretary of the republic's KGB party committee, gave a detailed analysis of the party organization's activity, the state of its organizational, political, and educational work in the new conditions, and its influence on communists' official activity. Restructuring, the speaker noted, is gathering speed in the committee's party organization. Democratic principles and glasnost are broadening in the context of the specific features of the Cheka collective's work.

Communists are becoming increasingly active and militant, criticism and self-criticism are becoming more objective, and increased demands are being made on communist leaders and the moral outlook of Chekists.

The report stressed that the republic KGB's primary party organizations must step up their influence on the selection and placement of cadres, the further enhancement of personal responsibility and exactingness, and the strengthening of the conscious discipline of all communists.

Mention was also made of the very difficult and selfless work of the committee's staffers, who perform their official duty with a sense of high responsibility.

Errors in cadre work and violations of discipline and the norms of Chekist ethics by individual Chekists were given a strict and principled assessment. A number of those staffers have already been given severe party and administrative reprimands, including dismissal from the KGB organs.

The report gave rise to a frank and keen discussion of ways to improve party work and the official activity of Chekists, and the need for the further restructuring of the style and methods of work in conditions of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. Speakers expressed grave criticism of existing shortcomings and discussed the steadfast observance of fundamental Leninist principles in the activity of state security organs, primarily reliance on the broad masses of the working people. This law, which is immutable for Chekists, now has new resonance. It was stressed that KGB staffers must pay greater attention to broadening and deepening ties with the working people, must visit labor collectives more often, and must improve the forms of public participation in the cause of safeguarding state security.

V. Badamyants, chairman of the Armenian SSR KGB, noted in his speech that the republic's Chekists, working under the party's leadership, will be able to cope worthily with solving the set tasks in today's conditions only if their activity is organically combined with the process of broadening democracy and glasnost. The Armenian SSR KGB, as V. Badamyants stressed, must make a greater contribution to implementing the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum's decisions on improving the ideological and moral atmosphere in the republic. Chekists' efforts must be directed toward exposing and eliminating the hostile plans and intentions of the imperialist states' special services, anti-Soviet organizations abroad, and ideological subversion centers, which are seeking to use the complex processes under way in the republic in their own interests.

Extra efforts are needed to protect the Soviet economy against hostile encroachments by the enemy's special services, which are doing everything in their power to exploit the expansion of foreign economic and scientific and technical ties to harm the course of the economic reform in our country, including in this republic.

The republic's KGB chairman stressed that with the formation of the rule-of-law state, preventive and precautionary operations are acquiring increasing priority in the activity of the state security organs. One of the most honorable and noble aspects of Chekists' work is to help those who have strayed, to show them the error of their ways, to explain the interconnection between the interests of the individual and of society and of the citizen and the state, and to discover the best qualities in man.

At the same time, Chekists must wage a resolute struggle against those who try to encroach on the security of Soviet society.

In that context, attention was drawn to the need to further improve staffers' professional competence and legal training and to ensure the unswerving and most rigorous observance of the spirit and the letter of Soviet laws.

In his assessment of the situation that has come about in the republic in connection with the events of Nagorno-Karabakh, V. Badamyants noted that staffers of the republic's KGB, together with working people and party and soviet organs, must not allow the powerful movement generated in the republic by restructuring to be diverted by certain people into an impasse. This movement must be protected against the harmful influence of irresponsible people and must be cleansed of all superficiality, which is contrary to the interests of true restructuring and the genuine interests of the people.

In a detailed decision, Communist Chekists outlined ways of implementing the suggestions and criticisms expressed with the aim of improving the party organization's activity.

Taking part in the meeting's work were M. Davtyan, chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Administrative Organs Department, and M. Zakaryan, first secretary of the Myasnikyanskiy party raykom.

## Further on Estonian Supreme Soviet 7 Dec Session

### Estonian Declared State Language

*LD0712222388 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Summary From Poor Reception] Correspondent Juhan Virkus reports that today's Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session means that at last unanimity has been achieved, and that the Estonian language was declared the state language. Poldroos, leader of the working group on the status of the language, said that he believes it is possible to arrive at an understanding throughout Estonia, particularly because Estonia is small.

Virkus said that there was a heated debate over adopting laws on the seat of government. Tonu Laak, first secretary of Tartu Gorkom, said that in his opinion it would have been possible to avoid the division of the auditorium into two, as there were no fundamental differences of opinion. Laak said that two versions of the constitutional amendments were voted on, and that the drafts differed only by two words, which it is not necessary to set down juridically. "For this reason, there was a division by nationality, and not by the actual [word indistinct] of the constitutional amendment. In my opinion, this is a poor result. Some formal and some juridical

imprecision and different readings, or, in conclusion, low juridical culture, interfered with this unanimity, which we were not too far away from."

Laak noted that an extraordinary Supreme Soviet session will be held on 18 January to adopt the law on language. He said that today's result is important, and that the next session will not be held to discuss, but rather to adopt the law. He said that time must now be given to explain the draft law to the people.

Virkus said that the last item on the agenda was the mass repressions of 1940-50, and that there seemed to be unanimity on this item. Political observer Juri Hansen notes that a law on the mass repressions was passed, after numerous amendments, with 243 votes for, no votes against, and 2 abstentions.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session has now ended.

### State Plans Adopted

*PM0812141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Session Has Completed Its Work"]

[Text] Tallinn, 7 Dec—The state plan for economic and social development and the republic's state budget for 1989 were approved at the 9th session of the 11th convocation of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, which ended here late this evening.

The session approved the concept for nature conservation and the rational use of the Estonian SSR's natural resources, and adopted a relevant decision.

A report was heard on the Estonian SSR's preparations for transferring to republic economic accountability [khozraschet].

The session adopted an amendment to the Estonian SSR Constitution establishing the status of the Estonian language as the state language on Estonian territory. At the same time it discussed the Estonian SSR draft law on language, which defines legal guarantees and the procedure for using the state language, the Russian language, and other languages within the republic. Having approved this draft law on the whole, the deputies decided to publish it and adopt it at an extraordinary session in January 1989.

The session formed the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations.

A law on extrajudicial mass repressions in Soviet Estonia during the 1940's and 1950's was adopted.

Corresponding changes have been made to the republic's legislation.

A report was heard on the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 26 November 1988.

### Session To Continue

*LD0712185388 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] [Announcer] Estonian is to be the official language in the Soviet Republic of Estonia. This was decided today by the republic's Supreme Soviet after a vote. But the Estonians are now choosing a more cautious way than that previously to achieve increased independence from Moscow.

[Correspondent Anders Eriksson] With voting figures of 200 for and 49 against, the Estonian Supreme Soviet approved the amendment to the republic's Constitution, which means that Estonian will in the future be the official language. At the same time, the Russian population in Estonia are guaranteed the right to use their language in contacts with the authorities. The decision was made after a long and at times hard debate in which demands were also made that the two languages be made completely equal. How the law will be applied in detail will be settled in January.

At the session, which will continue for 3 days instead of 1, as planned, it was also decided to close several environmentally dangerous factories and to prohibit building new environmentally dangerous factories.

The documents approved at the Estonian Supreme Soviet session are more restrained than those approved at the extraordinary session 3 weeks ago, and it is obvious that the Estonians have been influenced by the criticism that Moscow directed against the very far-reaching decisions made then. This criticism, however, has also had some conciliatory features. Therefore, the Estonians are now choosing to lower their tone and to use more cautious methods, even if it is pointed out in Tallinn that the goals are still the same: greater economic and political independence from Moscow.

### Estonian Party Elects Titma New Secretary

*LD0712224388 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Summary From Poor Reception] Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee says that the Central Committee plenum today discussed organizational questions. Mikk Titma was elected secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Bureau. The atmosphere at the plenum, Vayno Vyalyas said, was comradely and principled. In electing Titma, there were two factors. "We have to say that the... Estonia Communist Party Central Committee proceeded first and foremost from the fact that our

ideology service has two main tasks: its scientific foundation, and second, the party's principled [word indistinct]. Proceeding from those [words indistinct], the Estonia Communist Party Central Committee made this choice."

Vyalyas said that the next plenum will probably be held 21 or 22 December, to discuss the resolutions of the November CPSU Central Committee plenum. "The main emphasis is directed toward establishing all those specific pieces of work and undertakings, which we will carry out, to implement the resolutions of the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum."

### Estonian Scholar on USSR Supreme Soviet Session

*LD0712140688 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 3 Dec 88*

[Text] [Announcer] And now we're going to hear what the president of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, Karl Rebane, thinks of this week's urgent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The session enacted bills on the electoral system and on amendments to the national Constitution. Asked what distinguished the session, Dr Rebane said this:

[Begin Rebane recording in Russian fading into English translation] I would note the climate of the discussion, which was free and open. Supreme Soviet members didn't hesitate to voice their proposals, amendments, and doubts. The bills have been enacted, but it is clear that the reform of the legal system only begins. If there is the need for more changes they will be produced. Many delegates to the session, including Mikhail Gorbachev, voiced the same idea. As a scholar I like this idea very much. We keep the doors open to all reasonable proposals and are ready to consider any situation that may emerge in the future.

The session was significant in many respects. As a representative of one of the Soviet republics, I found it very important that many Supreme Soviet members suggested various ways of enhancing the sovereignty of individual republics. The drive for openness has made it clear that what we've been saying for years about relations between individual republics and the union, that everything is calm and bright, is far from reality. There are many problems, too. I believe that if there is no progress in individual republics there will be no progress in the union in general—and if there is no progress on the national scale, individual republics will fail to make economic progress.

Take my republic, Estonia. I'm familiar with what some of our economists have suggested in terms of giving Estonia more economic rights. I am for this, too. But I am against breaking the economic relations with other Soviet republics that have been established over almost 50 years. Estonia does not have its own resources of raw materials, and it will not be able to develop without assistance from outside. I'm against extremism and revanchism.

As they discussed this complicated issue—relations between republics—Supreme Soviet members achieved understanding. They were unanimous that a great deal still has to be done along these lines. A special commission is going to be formed to draw up a code of relations between individual republics and the union. The session was marked by a businesslike attitude. It's very important that it did not announce any subject closed. We have a long way to go yet to establish new relations and new attitudes to our problems. [end recording]

### Estonians Offer Assessment

LD0812150388 [Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1300 GMT on 30 November broadcasts a 1-hour program which includes several references to the 26 November USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Tiit Sinisar, radio correspondent, and Toomas Leito, editor of RAHVA HAAL and member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, meet in the studio to discuss current events, including the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session of 26 November. Sinisar says that the reaction of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was to be expected. "We consciously sought a constitutional conflict. We would have been playing the ostrich with our heads in the sand had we thought that such a thing would be approved in Moscow or that there would be no reaction at all. I want to point out that there was no demand for the Supreme Soviet to go back on the 16 November resolutions in the Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution. Moscow has indeed declared them to be invalid, but there is no prescription for us as to how to proceed." Leito says that perhaps the question should be viewed from a wider aspect, and that at the next Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session a constitutional commission should be set up to take a good look at the Estonian SSR Constitution from all angles, in light of the recent amendments.

Correspondent Raul Malk then reports from the inaugural conference of the Joint Council of Production Collective at the Tallinn new political education building. He says that there are six points on the agenda, including a report from the organizational committee and a discussion of the council's constitution and program.

Correspondent Toivo Makk reports next from the Linnahall. The overflow of the inaugural conference is meeting here. He says that consolidation and IME [self-managing Estonia] will be discussed. The studio points out that there is a live relay from both the new political education building and the Linnahall.

A radio listener asks if the amendments of the 16 November extraordinary session are valid or not. Leito says that these resolutions, as far as he knows, can be changed only by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. But because the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted their resolution, this effectively has prevented the effect of the Estonian amendments. Leito adds that he is not certain of the precise juridical aspects. Sinisar says, "Yes, well, unfortunately neither of us here is a jurist. This, however, is still the same constitutional conflict in which, as seen from Moscow, they rely on the articles in the Constitution which were referred to in the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, that in the case of a divergence of laws, the all-union law will be in effect; and we in our turn rely upon those articles in the Constitution which, for example—as the Popular Front also referred to in its statement—state that we are indeed a sovereign state, and we have declared the supremacy of our own laws. How it will finally be resolved is still ahead. Not even an educated jurist can clearly say what will happen, because a lot will depend on practice here. Also, after all, these are not only juridical questions but also political questions."

Raul Malk, reporting from the joint council conference, says that at the moment the draft program is being introduced to the assembly. This is quite a substantial document, he says, one that also includes a point about nominating candidates at the next elections for both the republican and all-union soviets of people's deputies.

A listener asks about the usefulness of all-union enterprises in Estonia for Estonia. Malk says that this is difficult to assess because a number of all-union enterprises are closed and there is no information available about them. However, he says one should not write the all-union enterprises off as being worthless to the republic.

Toivo Makk, speaking from the Linnahall, expresses hope that participants at both conference venues, at the new political education building and at the Linnahall, will together come to some fruitful conclusions.

In conclusion, Toomas Leito says, "Before I tackle any questions, I would like to note this paradoxical situation in which our amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution—(?those which were contested)—are about one typewritten page; one typewritten page has created a bigger storm than the situation that has developed in Armenia or Azerbaijan, with the special situation and so on. Ours is, well, kind of extreme, and it is not normal perestroyka, but it is taking place here as it fits into the framework of perestroyka."

Sinisar agrees and mentions that the chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet also spoke in Moscow and condemned Estonia. "This is the strange thing in our Soviet land, the fact that everything seems to be everybody's business. I do not know of the Estonian people attempting to teach, let us say, this very same Azerbaijani, with the same Armenian conflict, or to condemn somebody so terribly, or to stand them next to a wall and point a finger at them. There are frequent attempts to do this to us." He then recalls recent articles in PRAVDA.

## Lithuanian Leaders Discuss Changes in Drafts

*LD0712120788 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 5 Dec 88*

[Summary] Radio correspondent Vladas Dobilas reports on the relations between the constituent republics of the USSR and the all-union administrative bodies. He is trying to find out if all roads lead to Moscow, as the saying goes. Have the latest developments really changed things for the better?

Recently there was a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which discussed draft amendments to the Constitution of the Soviet Union. All Lithuanians were waiting for an answer to the all important question: Will centralization continue growing stronger or will the constituent republics receive more decision making power themselves?

Lithuanian President Vytautas Astrauskas, together with two of the Lithuanian delegates to the session, appeared on television Sunday evening and answered viewers questions. Vytautas Astrauskas considers that certain changes and alterations arrived at during the work of the session give cause for optimism:

[Begin Astrauskas recording in Lithuanian fading to English translation] Take for example the second paragraph of Article 108. The amended paragraph extends the rights of constituent republics of the Soviet Union in deciding the national issue of the composition of the state. In the initial variant these questions were placed under the jurisdiction of the supreme authorities of the USSR.

There is one more positive change in Article 108 of the USSR Constitution. The regulation that the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies can abrogate laws adopted by the supreme organs of state power in the constituent republics has been deleted. I think that this will add to the independence of the republics. [end recording]

Another participant in the television forum, Lionginas Sepetys, who is one of the secretaries of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, also holds that the newly adopted amendments to the Constitution of the USSR are an initial step toward democratization.

The ruling authorities in Lithuania are satisfied to a certain degree about the future prospects of the republic, but a different mood prevailed yesterday at an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis Seimas.

Economist Kazimieras Antanavicius delivered a report in which he spoke critically about the decisions adopted on 18 November at the USSR Council of Ministers. This is what K. Antanavicius had to say:

[Begin Antanavicius recording in Lithuanian fading to English translation] The drafts presented by the republics were actually not discussed at the Council of Ministers session. It was stated that a unified project of territorial self-government must be drawn up.

However, back in the spring the Council of Ministers ruled that the Baltic republics and Belorussia should work out their own variants and experiment with these individual variants. Now we hear that a commission has to draw up the general principles of reorganizing the administration of economic and social activity in the constituent republics. I stress, principles of reorganizing the administration and not principles of economic reform.

This means that the existing supercentralism is to remain; that commands and orders will continue to come from the central authorities. It is evident that this reorganization is like making musicians change their seats in the expectation that the orchestra will play better. [end recording]

Problems of achieving more independence were also touched on in the speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council. Concerning the amendments adopted at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session, V. Landsbergis said:

[Begin Landsbergis recording in Lithuanian fading to English translation] The democratization of the country is only seen as granting certain broader rights to individual citizens or organizations, but not to nations. The rights of the latter are intended to melt in the faceless mass of citizens of the Soviet Union. These intentions were expressed when trying to convince the Estonian nation that it no longer possessed either its land or the air above; all of that, allegedly, belongs now to all the inhabitants of the USSR. [end recording]

As you may know, the Estonian Supreme Soviet approved some amendments to their constitution seeking more sovereignty and these amendments aroused sharp criticism from some delegates to the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

Commenting on this, Vytautas Landsbergis was rather ironical:

[Begin Landsbergis recording] Defending a nation's sovereignty is labelled nationalism and a quite lawful fight for sovereignty is interpreted as extremism. Proceeding along these lines then, we might call a man's yearning to live as egoism and his wish to work in his own orchard might be condemned as separatism. These are the same old methods of pressure and of diktat which have already led this country more than once to the brink of a crisis. [end recording]

So, do all roads lead to Moscow? And if they do, will this continue for long in the future? I have no ready answer to that.

## Latvian Popular Front's Peters on Reforms

*PM0612153088 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Dec 88 p 5*

[Report on interview with Latvian Popular Front leader Yanis Peters by Bobo Scheutz: "Black Wave Over Latvia"; date, place not given]

[Text] The opponents of renewal in Latvia are organizing themselves. They are being given increasing space in newspaper columns and they are directing threatening accusations of "nationalism" against the political leadership. The situation has deteriorated, and a black wave is sweeping over Latvia.

The description of the situation currently facing the Latvian reform movement is that of poet Yanis Peters. He is chairman of the Latvian Writers Union, a member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, and also one of the most prominent figures in the Latvian Popular Front—the most important driving force in the Latvian reform process.

Yanis Peters is in Stockholm as the guest of the Foreign Affairs Institute. He brings with him a more somber message than he did when he was here a year ago.

"We have reached a zenith as far as free speech is concerned—the possibility of openly discussing and publishing what was formerly banned. But this hopeful tide runs the risk of becoming simply a decoration if we cannot work out an economic plan," he said.

"But this is a task which we in the Popular Front cannot manage on our own. We need the help of economists and jurists in the West to draft a proposal for an economic and ecological program which we can submit to the government. The most important thing at present is to halt industrialization and to develop agriculture, and we have to create a model for the transition to a market economy," he went on.

Is such a thing possible today?

"Yes, it is politically possible, but not administratively," Yanis Peters replied.

For it is within the administrative apparatus that the resistance to change is to be found. And it is strong. And threatening. That is why Yanis Peters calls it the "black wave."

"It comes from the middle strata of the bureaucracy and puts pressure on the political leadership. Its representatives ally themselves with the Soviet central press and use all kinds of demagogical tricks to fool non-Latvians in Latvia into misinterpreting the Popular Front's message. They use the Stalinist terminology that we hoped had fallen out of use, and they accuse the proreformists of being 'anti-Soviet' and 'bourgeois nationalists,'" Yanis Peters noted.

"They are strong," he said, "for they have major contacts with the central administration and they have their own channels to Moscow."

The worries in Latvia that the current reform process will not end as people want it to are fed by the Latvians' experiences from 1959. It was then that the Latvian Communist Party tried to combat the Khrushchev regime's almost uncontrolled industrialization of Latvia and that the resulting mass immigration of Russians and other Soviet nationalities took place.

In 1959 Moscow beat down the opposition. The Latvian Communist Party and its leadership were purged of all national-minded liberals, and the leadership of the country came into the hands of Latvian Arvid Pelshe (popularly known as the "Yellow Death"), who was very loyal to Moscow. Industrialization and immigration continued as Moscow had intended, and today Latvians make up only about half the population.

What is it that makes people believe that they will succeed today, when they did not do so in 1959?

"Something like 1959 could happen again," Yanis Peters said, "and the results could perhaps be the same. But not the repercussions. Today we are completely different, as is the party, and we really hope that the highest leadership is aware of this."

This highest leadership, that is, the Politburo in Moscow, recently paid a visit to the Baltic region to pour oil on the waters of reform. New ideology chief Vadim Medvedev visited Riga. According to Yanis Peters, he satisfied and embittered both sides in an attempt to balance things, but also returned to Moscow without giving the proreformists any support.

The tensions in Latvia today spring not so much from antagonisms between pro-and antireformists as from conflicts between the country's original population, the Latvians, and those who have immigrated.

"Artificial industrialization has created a wandering, denationalized population group who are simply seen as laborers or migrants. The problem is most striking in Latvia, which historically has always had a heterogeneous population. Last year, for example, 100,000 non-Latvians moved out of Latvia at the same time as 118,000 moved in. This shows the mobility of this section of the population and the national disorientation to which this leads," Peters said.

"The Popular Front wants to halt this process, which is a remnant of the Stalinist colonial policy. We must stabilize the population in Latvia. As things are now, there is a conflict between culture and nonculture, where the Latvian-speaking section of the population is the carrier of the Latvian culture."

The non-Latvian section of the population—of which Russians form a significant part—is now organizing itself into its own front, Soviet Latvia's International Workers Front, known as Interfront. This is a development which means further polarization, and it is hardly likely to smooth the rocky path to renewal.

"Interfront will not be successful," Yanis Peters said. "It has no ethical foundation on which to stand, and it asserts its rights only through antagonisms. The worst thing is not that it has emerged at all—it is logical in itself at least—but that it is now being given a disproportionately large amount of space in the Latvian media. It is part of the black wave."

The Latvian Popular Front has not been able to stand up to its opponents as strongly as its counterpart in Estonia. Yanis Peters explained why:

"The Estonians have more political experience, and through being able to watch Finnish television they have received impulses toward political discussion and pluralism. For the time being, at least, we Latvians are behaving less diplomatically. The Estonians have fought for and won their 'own' party leader: This is a moral victory not only for Estonia, but also for the rest of the Baltic region, and perhaps also for Russia."

Latvia has not made as much progress, for it does not have Estonia's support in party and government.

"Developments are nevertheless relatively positive," Yanis Peters said. "Things will move forward. But not the whole time."

### Kazakh Supreme Soviet 6 Dec Session Detailed

*LD0712120288 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0700 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Today the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet began its work in the session hall of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet in Alma-Ata. On the Presidium were Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; Comrades Anufriyev, Bashmakov, Dzhanibekov, Davletova, Kamalidenov, Kuzmenko, Mendybsyev, and Nazarbayev, members of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau; and Comrades Gukasov and Miroshnik, candidate members of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee

Bureau. In the boxes were members of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and members of the government. The session was opened by Deputy Medeubekov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet heard a report by Deputy Vinogradov, chairman of the Credential Commission, on the verification of the authority of deputies elected in place of outgoing deputies. A resolution was adopted on the recognition of the authority of newly elected deputies.

The following agenda of the session was approved: on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1989; on progress in fulfilling the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1988; on the state budget of the Kazakh SSR for 1989, and on the execution of the state budget of the Kazakh SSR in 1987; on the ratification of the decrees of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet; on progress in implementing proposals and critical observations voiced by deputies of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet at the 7th and 8th sessions of the republic Supreme Soviet; and on organizational matters.

Deputy Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Planning Committee, delivered a report on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1989, and on progress in fulfilling the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1988. Deputy Batsula, finance minister of the Kazakh SSR, delivered a report on the state budget of the Kazakh SSR for 1989, and on the execution of the state budget of the republic in 1987. Deputy (?Shelyakov), deputy chairman of the planning and budget commission of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, delivered an additional report on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1989; and on progress in fulfilling the plan in 1988, on the state budget of the Kazakh SSR for 1989, and on the execution of the 1987 budget. While you are listening to this news, the deputies are discussing the report and additional reports.

### Planning, Budget Laws Adopted

*LD0712120388 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Excerpts] The 11th session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet was held on 6 December in Alma-Ata, in the hall of sessions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. [pasage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a law on the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR for 1989, with due account of the amendments introduced by the Planning and Budget Commission and other standing commissions of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, and also a resolution on progress in implementing the state plan for the economic and social development of the Kazakh SSR in 1988. The republican Supreme Soviet confirmed the state budget of the Kazakh SSR for 1989, and also the report on the execution of the budget for 1987.

Following a report by Deputy Nurpeysov, secretary of the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet, the decrees of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet are confirmed. Information on progress in implementing proposals and critical observations voiced by deputies at the 7th and 8th sessions of the republican Supreme Soviet were provided by Deputy Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on this matter. Deputy Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, spoke on organizational matters.

On the instructions of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau and the Council of Elders of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, he submitted a proposal for the release of Deputy Kamalidenov from his duties as chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet for reasons of health and at his personal request. The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on the release of Kamalidenov from his duties as chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. With that, the 11th session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation concluded its work.

### Uzbekistan Reorganizes Central Committee Bodies

*LD0712144688 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Tashkent December 7 TASS—The Central Committee of the Uzbekistan Communist Party at its plenary meeting here today examined issues of restructuring party bodies.

The plenum took a decision to cut the number of Central Committee departments from 17 to eight, chiefly by eliminating branch units that often dealt with issues within the competence of government and state bodies.

The plenary meeting decided to form commissions of the Central Committee that will supervise the work of the apparatus.

### CPSU Member Nasriddinova Expelled From Party

*PM0712162188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "At CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; On Selfish Abuses of CPSU Member Ya.S. Nasriddinova"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the question of the party responsibility of CPSU member Ya.S. Nasriddinova for the selfish abuses she has committed.

It can be seen from the material of the trials in Uzbekistan in 1976-77 that party member Nasriddinova, while chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium (1959-70) and then chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities (1971-74), had criminal links with several officials who paid her bribes for a number of years.

While examining the criminal cases of Kh. Khudaybergenova, B. Allabergenova, S.Kh. Khasanova, and K. Rakhmanov, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court legal collegiums established that in exchange for official promotions, patronage in their careers, and the resolution of other questions in their interests, these people gave Nasriddinova money, precious ornaments, and other items. The courts' verdicts indicated that in all she was given bribes worth a total of R65,000.

The aforementioned bribe-payers were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. As for Nasriddinova, who at that period was a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court submitted court reports setting forth evidence establishing her guilt in taking bribes. These reports were sent for examination to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR general prosecutor. However, at the time no legal action was taken on them. Now the USSR prosecutor's office is investigating a criminal case with regard to Nasriddinova.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has expelled Ya.S. Nasriddinova from the party for having compromised herself.

### Moscow Militia To Conduct Drug Searches

*LD0812091888 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 8 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies has decided to introduce in Moscow control over illegal transportation of narcotics and narcotics-containing plants. A militia squad have been empowered to examine motorvehicles, drivers, passengers and cargo, and also pedestrians and their belongings. This was reported by the newspaper PRAVDA today.

The June 22, 1987 decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which introduced changes to the legislation on responsibility for the illegal keeping and acquisition of narcotics, has failed to have many problems solved. The Moscow Soviet's decision is a local supplement to the decree.

### Consultative Commission on Religious Affairs

*LD0712152388 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—A scientific consultative commission, set up at the Council for Religious Affairs at the Soviet Government, aims at perfecting state-church relations in the conditions of perestroyka, or a policy of restructuring currently under way in the USSR.

The commission comprises representatives of religious organisations, research centres, some ministers and departments.

The commission members will not be paid for their work.

### Moscow City Officials Elected to Posts

*LD0812021288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2234 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] A plenum of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom discussed organizational issues on 7 December. By secret ballot, the plenum elected Comrade (Prokofyev) as second secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, and Comrades (Andriyanova) and (Kuznetsov) were elected secretaries of the Moscow City Party Committee. Comrade Zaykov spoke at the plenum.

### Cooperatives Union Formed in Moscow

*LD2311152988 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 23 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—There are more than 3,000 cooperatives in Moscow. Some of them make more than a million roubles. A fundamentally new economic organism combining public and individual property has sprung up in Moscow's economic structure over the two years since the first cooperative was formed.

The newly-setup Moscow cooperative union protects cooperatives against the administrative-bureaucratic system.

The streamlining of management bodies and staff reductions in some industries have created a certain redundency of manpower. This abundancy of labour has brought many young and educated people into cooperatives. They include experts with higher education, candidates and doctors of sciences who are particularly valuable at cooperatives specializing in programming and scientific research.

First humanitarian cooperatives, such as of lawyers and translators, have been set up.

People engaged in the cooperative movement think that the Moscow authorities are underestimating its economic role. This, to some extent, accounts for a small number of cooperatives in the building and other industries. Procuring raw materials and equipment is still a big problem. Cooperatives have to buy them at double or triple prices, as compared with state enterprises and organisations. There are also financial problems.

And yet, despite all difficulties and obstacles, Moscow cooperatives are winning their way in the consumer market, services, the production sphere, and even in foreign economic relations, including foreign trade.

Several Moscow cooperatives have recently signed mutuallly-beneficial agreements with foreign firms.

## Economist Considers Need for Grain Imports

*PM0612161088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 49, 4 Dec 88 p 7*

["An Expert's View" article by Aleksandr Belozertsev: "Grain Worth Its Weight in Gold. Can the USSR Afford Not To Import Grain?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] On November 28, in Moscow the Soviet Union and the United States signed a Protocol extending their August 25, 1983 Agreement on grain supplies through December 1990. The Agreement provides for annual purchases of nine million metric tons of grain, soybeans and soybean meal—and more if need be. Under the new Protocol the Soviet Union has already purchased 5.5 million tons of corn, and more than one million tons of soybeans and soybean meal to be delivered over 1988-89.

So yet another gain deal. Will the USSR ever be able to stop buying grain? Here's what economist Aleksandr Belozertsev thinks.

At the recent meeting in the city of Orel the need to implement the 19th Party Conference decisions on improving food supply and the economic functioning of the agro-industrial complex was stressed. Self-sufficiency in food can primarily be achieved through producing more grain ourselves and cutting grain imports.

The Soviet Union started to import grain 25 years ago. True, before the 70s it did so occasionally and sparingly—it rated as one of the smallest of the then grain importers. When in the 1970s it was decided to intensively develop animal husbandry there was a lot of cheap grain to buy on the world market and lots of dollars to be earned selling oil. Then there was the severe drought in 1972. This motivated the country's leaders to rethink their policy of buying grain abroad.

Ever since then we have been the top grain importer despite the radically changed situation on the world grain market. The EEC countries have increased their grain production to take second place in the world and to become major grain exporters, instead of importers ahead of Canada, a traditional grain supplier. Argentina and Australia have gained a much better foothold on the world market. The US still remains the top producer and exporter of grain.

Changes over the past decade among grain importers were even more striking. Former major buyers of grain from the EEC such as China and India increased grain production. Today they have drastically cut their grain imports and come close to being self-sufficient.

The Soviet Union alone is still firmly in the lead of grain buyers. Moreover, until recently it continued to increase imports reaching, according to official figures, the "absolute world record" of 44.2 million tons in 1985. Over the last three years grain purchases were around 27 million tons.

No wonder Americans are showing interest in the grain talks. While in the 80s the demand for grain dropped on the world market, the US kept producing grain to double its unused stockpiles. The fact that these stockpiles exist hits back at the farmer (at least 60 per cent of US grain is stored by the farmers) and at the federal budget that subsidizes grain production and export. Americans are in a hurry: this year's world prices have shot up (apparently because of the terrible drought in the US) and we are still interested in buying grain.

So why do we import grain at a cost of 3-5 billion convertible roubles? One reason of course is our low yields of 1.4-1.8 tons per hectare. But the key reason, I think, is the irrational use of home-grown and imported grain. This becomes clear if one compares how much Western industrial countries grow, export and import with what the Soviet Union does. Despite the fact that our grain figures still remain a "closely guarded secret", the US Department of Agriculture publishes its own assessments of our grain situation regularly.

For example, the EEC countries, with a population of more than 320 million, make do producing no more than 160 million tons of grain and even head the list of its exporters. The USSR is a country of 285 million people and even 210 million tons (the maximal yield) isn't quite enough.

This is because most of the grain is fed to animals, though the Soviet Union rates first in grazing areas leaving China, the US and the EEC countries far behind. Despite this, feeding grain to cattle is traditional practice to this day. Grain importers are partly to blame since they have made fodder production a secondary concern. Many farms grown no fodder crops hoping to get them from centralized funds.

The Orel Region is a good example of coping with the grain problem at the regional level. In three years the region boosted grain production by 46 per cent, beetroot production by 36 per cent and fodder production by 100 per cent. For two years local farms have had enough fodder. Still the Orel Region is more the exception than the rule.

Industrial countries that are self-sufficient in grain only use grain for fodder when demand for grain on the world market is low. They mostly rely on open grazing or mixed fodder.

Yet another problem here is considerable losses of grain on its way to the consumer from the field. The solution lies in finding customers closer to the producers the right to dispose of surplus grain at their own discretion.

Grain imports are also encouraged by the constant wrangle between at least three ministerial departments. One does the producing, another does the storing and processing, the third does the importing (the importing agency for some reason is called Exportkhleb) Grain in fact is a "strategic commodity" and it constitutes vast material resources. Those who possess such resources want to continue to do so. Besides a suitable infrastructure already exists: the merchant marine, ports and warehouses, managerial staff where many thousands of people are earning their living.

Our grain import problems won't go away unless we strictly observe the Laws on State Enterprise and Cooperatives which give farms the right to use surplus grain at their own discretion. If this is done, the longproposed idea of a national grain exchange to counterbalance grain imports would become a reality.

Grain-growing farms would then be allowed to form major cooperative amalgamations with direct access to the foreign market. A more rational policy should be adopted regarding the use of grain, while production of other types of fodder should be stepped up and grazing grounds used on a wider scale.

The foreign currency we could save by cutting raw material imports is badly needed to buy equipment for our researchers and grain growers, to promote international cooperation in scientific and technological aspects of agricultural production.

## MVD Official on Correctional System Reforms

*PM0712094988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Single Edition p 6*

[Interview with Lieutenant General I.N. Katargin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of Correctional Affairs, by TASS special correspondent V. Itkin for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Deprived of Liberty But Not of Rights. General I. Katargin, Chief of a USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration Explains"; date, place not given—first two paragraphs are Itkin introduction]

[Text] My interlocutor is Ivan Nikiforovich Katargin, lieutenant general of the internal service. He now heads the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main (Amalgamated) Administration for Correctional Affairs. We have met before, in Chernobyl, at the height of the dramatic events there. I kept meeting the tall, well-built general in field uniform at the No 4 unit of the AES, at sessions of the government commission, at the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs Headquarters, talking to firefighters, State Motor Vehicle Inspection workers.... His face gray with dust, his eyes red from lack of sleep. This is how I remember Katargin, then Ukrainian deputy minister of internal affairs.

He is my interviewee today.

[Itkin] The title of the department which you head has changed. Is the nature of its work changing, too?

[Katargin] I am convinced that it is. The whole correctional labor system has been reorganized, and a reform of the entire penal system and the application of other sanctions to convicts under criminal legislation is being prepared.

[Itkin] The press has stated more than once that the draft Basic Guidelines of Criminal Legislation in the USSR and Union Republics, which are being compiled, will be marked by a resolute shift toward the humanization of criminal policy. This is a good thing. But what, specifically, will change in such a seemingly unshakable sphere as the enforcement of punishments for crimes committed?

[Katargin] It is planned in general to considerably reduce the use of deprivation of liberty as a measure of punishment. Sanctions contained in articles of the Criminal Code are being reviewed with the aim of reducing their severity. This sanction has been abolished in 90 articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code that previously made provision for deprivation of liberty. The range of punishments is also changing. Internal and external exile is being abolished as inexpedient. At the same time, new types of sanctions are being introduced.

[Itkin] Such as?

[Katargin] Restriction of liberty instead of suspended sentences of deprivation of liberty or release on probation from correctional labor colonies subject to a compulsory labor order, which are being abolished.

[Itkin] Through my work as a reporter I have had occasion to visit labor colonies, preliminary investigation detention centers, and prisons more than once. One thing that struck me was that all the prisoners looked the same. A crowd, rows upon rows of them, and not a single individual. Dreadful....

[Katargin] Despite the work carried out since the mid-fifties to firmly establish the principles of legality and humaneness, the system of correctional labor institutions still bears the marks of the preceding period. There are still many artificial curbs on convicts' rights and interests which sometimes run counter to the aims of their reeducation. For instance, under current legislation there are restrictions on the number of letters convicts can send or receive. Disciplinary sanctions include suspension of the right to the next visit by relatives, withdrawal of permission to watch a film, and so forth. Or

take the practice of brief visits when the convicts and their relatives are put into glass booths and have to converse by telephone. This was introduced out of good intentions, in order to prevent banned articles being handed over to convicts. During free contacts this can happen. But it happens only in isolated cases. The damage inflicted by this practice is obvious because it reduces the educational role of such visits and offends the feelings of parents or relatives. We are proposing that this kind of restriction be lifted.

The new legislation, while retaining rigorous demands on dangerous criminals and people who refuse to embark on the road toward correction, makes provision for more humane conditions for serving sentences for the bulk of convicts. It is planned to introduce a more differentiated system of living conditions for convicts in places of deprivations of liberty, depending on their behavior and attitude toward work.

[Itkin] A key task in restructuring the work of correctional labor institutions is to bring the mode of enforcement of punishments strictly in line with the stipulations of the law. I believe that this is the crux of the problem.

[Katargin] You are quite right. In present-day conditions this question is becoming even more acute. The decrease in the number of those sentenced to deprivation of liberty is accompanied by a relative worsening of the situation in terms of their criminality. The correctional labor colonies now contain the most dangerous criminals. The proportion of people sentenced for premeditated murder, aggravated assault, rape, robbery with violence, and robbery increased from 34.3 to 39.5 percent in 1986-1987. One-third of them have been tried three or more times. The proportion of particularly dangerous recidivists has increased. All this entails a certain increase in instances of unlawful behavior among convicts. So-called "criminal fraternity traditions" are being revived. Criminal milieu leaders are becoming more active; they seek to surround themselves with loyal convicts, lead a parasitical way of life, engage in extortion and racketeering through their henchmen, and oppose the prison administration.

On the other hand, the atmosphere of broad glasnost and exactingness as regards the protection of citizens' rights and interests make immeasurably greater demands on the standards of the legal education of our staff. The times when correctional labor institutions were closed establishments, in the direct and the figurative sense of the term, are gone. The attention paid by many public institutions, the news media, scientific and cultural workers, and legal experts to problems of correctional labor policy and the work of the institutions that implement this policy in practice has increased manifoldly. All this helps us to become more deeply aware of the intolerability of shortcomings in this work. However, another danger has also arisen. Any violation by the administration of the mode of enforcement of punishments, infringement of convicts' rights, or lack of attention to their living conditions can spark an open protest, which in the case of our contingent can take various forms from a refusal to work to group hooliganism and riots.

Nonetheless, a consistent reduction in the crime rate has been achieved at correctional labor institutions and preliminary dentention centers in recent years. The total number of crimes committed last year at correctional labor colonies decreased by almost 32 percent in comparison with 1986. And during the first 10 months of the current year, the number of crimes fell by 20.7 percent. At the same time there were fewer premeditated murders and cases of aggravated assault.

However, there are still many shortcomings in ensuring the observance of regulations and preventing crime among prisoners. In a number of correctional labor institutions convicts are frequently left without supervision and violate regulations because of the unsatisfactory organization of supervision and negligent attitudes by staff and supervisory personnel toward their work.

[Itkin] What kind of role is given to labor in correctional labor institutions? After all, it is a well-known fact that in comparable establishments in a number of capitalist countries prisoners are generally not involved in labor activities.

[Katargin] A large, diversified industrial potential has been created within the system of correctional labor institutions. Enterprises belonging to correctional labor institutions and occupational therapy rehabilitation centers manufacture equipment worth almost R2 billion for the agro-industrial complex alone. The production of consumer goods amounts to R1.6 billion. While considering socially useful work by prisoners to be one of the most important factors in their reeducation, we also appreciate our great responsibility to the country for making effective use of the production potential and labor resources concentrated in correctional labor institutions.

In addition to this, measures are being taken to enhance the effectiveness of prisoners' use in labor by introducing progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration and improving the incentives for productive work. To date, 80 percent of all working prisoners are involved in the team form of labor organization and 34 percent of these teams are working in conditions of economic accountability.

An experiment is being carried out in 51 colonies whereby working days are counted as part of the length of sentence for prisoners who overfulfill the output norm, do not break the rules, and have embarked on the course of reform. In these colonies, labor productivity has increased, the number of prisoners failing to meet shift targets has fallen, and discipline has improved.

[Itkin] And what is the situation like in terms of material incentives for prisoners?

[Katargin] It has been decided to review the system whereby part of their wages is deducted for the purpose of partially reimbursing expenditure on the upkeep of correctional labor institutions. At present, conventional correctional labor establishments deduct 40-50 percent of the total earnings for this purpose. Settlement colonies deduct 20 percent. The principle of justice is being violated in this respect. Those who work well have R80-100 deducted, whereas slackers and loafers have only R5-10 deducted. It has been proposed to deduct a set sum from their wages for this purpose, differentiating the amount on the basis of the nature of production and the location of the colony.

[Itkin] Another question: Children and juveniles. It seems that our occupational education system is found most wanting when it comes to them.

[Katargin] Yes, there are a considerable number of problems in the work of occupational education colonies, which are caused by imperfections in existing legislation, the inadequate psychological and pedagogical training of some of the people working in these colonies, and many other things. The USSR MVD has evolved a new model of the occupational education colony and a concept of its functions. It is based on humanizing the conditions of serving sentences and democratizing the correctional education process. People have raised the question of changing the status of the colony, which we regard as an educational training establishment. In the process of putting the new model into practice, people have suggested eliminating the practice of dividing colonies into different categories of regime and keeping juveniles in conditions depending on the severity of the crime committed. It is proposed that juveniles serve their entire sentence in one occupational education colony.

The USSR MVD is planning—and a number of colonies are already experimenting in this—to grant juvenile offenders the right to long meetings, telephone calls to parents and brief visits to see them, and participation in mass cultural events outside the colony. In other words, we are using the experience of Anton Semenovich Makarenko—collectivism, self-management, and trust.

[Itkin] The basic priorities for offenses entailing correctional labor were formulated by V.I. Lenin in 1919. As is well known, there are five of them: a large proportion of suspended sentences, public reprimands, substituting deprivation of freedom with forced labor and the sentence being served at home, substituting for imprisonment with educational establishments, and the introduction of comrades' courts.

[Katargin] Here, too, I will allow myself to quote some statistics. In 1980, 56 percent of offenders were deprived of their freedom within the general structure of punishments. Since April 1985 this figure has dropped to 32-34 percent. In the future, with the adoption of new principles of criminal legislation, we expect this figure to be in the region of 22-24 percent. And this reduction will be achieved as a result of those tenets of V.I. Lenin.

[Itkin] Tell me please—are you not hindered by the stereotyped image that has dominated people working in correctional labor institutions for so many years now that we are living in the era of restructuring?

[Katargin] A difficult question. But an honest one. Thank you for that. We are hindered, perhaps, not so much by stereotypes as by bureaucracy and lower-ranking officials throwing their weight around [unterprishibeyevshchina]. The institutions where we work have long been christened the "home of bureaucracy." These problems have existed, do exist, and evidently will exist in the future in every state and every society. Everything we have talked about today is only the beginning.

### Correction to Medvedev Speech to Latvian Aktiv

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Medvedev Restructuring Speech to Latvian Aktiv," published in the 7 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 76:

Page 78, paragraph four, sentence two: ...of your republic too. [Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman] A.V. Gorbunov told... (correcting title "Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Second Secretary" to "Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman")

## Military

### Panel Views Armed Forces' Restructuring Program

*LD0712000488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1845 GMT 5 Dec 88*

[From the "Restructuring and the Armed Forces" program: roundtable discussion at the Central House of the Soviet Army, chaired by commentator German Sedov; with Lieutenant General Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; Colonel General Sergey Alekseyevich Dikov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; Major General Nikolay Viktorovich Meshcheryakov, doctor of historical sciences; Colonel Anatoliy Pavlovich Dmitriyev, doctor of philosophical sciences; Colonel Justice Vyacheslav Pavlovich Seregin, candidate of juridical sciences; and Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kruk, military psychologist]

[Text] [Sedov] Hello, esteemed comrades. We have today what, in essence, is the first major open dialogue about life in the Armed Forces, about the processes

which are in progress or are now taking place in the Army and Navy. Lieutenant General Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; Colonel General Sergey Alekseyevich Dikov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; Major General Nikolay Viktorovich Meshcheryakov, doctor of historical sciences; Colonel Anatoliy Pavlovich Dmitriyev, doctor of philosophical sciences; Col Justice Vyacheslav Pavlovich Seregin, candidate of juridical sciences; and Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kruk, military psychologist, have readily agreed to our request to take part in this conversation.

We call our Army, our Armed Forces, a creation of the people. However, because this is so, because we are part and parcel of our Soviet society, the Armed Forces are also experiencing the very same processes that are taking place in society at large. For a while glasnost concerning these processes, especially about negative processes, was incomplete. Of course, I am not referring to military secrets, confidentiality, or operational procedures, as it were but, nevertheless, some processes were behind all this, processes which could have been made public and which should have been extensively disseminated in Soviet society, vigilance notwithstanding. Maintaining silence like this gave rise to false ideas, rumors, dissatisfaction, and fears. Well, comrades, I have invited you to take part in this conversation and I would like us, during the course of our chat, to answer numerous questions put to us by our television viewers. I have brought just a small proportion of the letters we receive at the television studio. Let me begin with the first question, which is typical of many letters: What stage is restructuring in the Armed Forces now at?

[Stefanovskiy] If I am to directly answer the question raised in the letter, I would like to say that at present the Armed Forces are at a stage which is defined, first, by the fact that in a majority of units, subunits, and warships, a new political and moral atmosphere has been created, an atmosphere of creativity and of enhanced interest by service personnel in the results of their military work. Second, by the fact that an overwhelming majority of military cadres, of communists in the Army and Navy, has elucidated the main requirement of restructuring—that it is not sufficient to admit and criticize stagnation or, shortcomings, which are also characteristic of the Armed Forces and their training—but that it is necessary to act and to formulate practical programs and then implement these programs. Third, the current stage is characterized by practical activities by command bodies, political bodies, and party and Komsomol organizations which have defined the main targets of restructuring; a mechanism for this restructuring has been elaborated and is being implemented.

[Meshcheryakov] Gennnadiy Aleksandrovich, what if one were to ask whether restructuring is proceeding more slowly in the Army or whether it is keeping pace with the whole of society? Some say that restructuring has not really begun in the Army at all. What is our view?

[Stefanovskiy] I would like to say that restructuring is proceeding within approximately the same timeframe and at approximately the same pace as in society as a whole. And the aspects that currently give rise to dissatisfaction among our political and state leadership alike also give rise to dissatisfaction among the Armed Forces command and political bodies. A new statute [polozheniye] for the Defense Ministry and a new statute of political bodies have now been prepared; a draft of general military regulations has been prepared; and account has been taken of the new aspects connected with the democratization of Soviet society. The question of the Armed Forces' training with account being taken of the defense doctrine is being reassessed.

[Sedov] But what is meant by the defensive nature of our Soviet doctrine? We often talk about it, but the population is, as a rule, in the dark about the precise meaning of this.

[Seregin] The USSR Armed Forces are set up for the purpose of defending the gains of socialism, of the Soviet people's peaceful toil. The Armed Forces' duty consists of defending the socialist fatherland, in being permanently ready to immediately repel, and rebuff, military aggression, to rebuff military aggression—that is how I will put it—to rebuff the military aggressor, that is what it says in the Constitution. Then, we do not have the concept of declaring war. It says in Article 121 of the Constitution that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium can declare a state of war in cases of military attack on the USSR or in cases of fulfilling mutual international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression, but if you compare this, say, with the United States, then the task of the U.S. Armed Forces is to insure the security of the United States and its territories and to defend regions vitally important to U.S. interests. As you know, these regions can be situated—and we know this from practice—thousands of kilometers from U.S. borders.

[Sedov] Yes, all over the world.

[Seregin] Moreover, the U.S. Constitution, Article 1, section 8, says that the U.S. Congress has the right to declare war and to define rules concerning captures on land and water. As you can see, the terminology here is...

[Sedov] Thus, apparently—I beg your pardon, I interrupted you—what did you want to say?

[Dmitriyev] Vyacheslav Pavlovich, it seems to me that when we now speak of the essence of the defensive military doctrine, this sense goes beyond the framework of Article 31 of the Constitution. After all, we emphasize that our military doctrine is of a strictly—exclusively, that is how we put it sometimes, or unequivocally, for that is how we put it at times—defensive nature.

Well, what do we have in mind here? I think the following things should be stressed: In the first place, we emphasize the idea that our Armed Forces and our entire defensive potential exist to solve two tasks only. One of these, the first one, is to prevent war, to avert it, to maintain peace—that is to say, to keep in check [sderzhivaniye] the aggressive designs of probable aggressors. If this fails, however, the second task comes into force. This is the defense of our country and our allies.

However, I think that we must not even stop here in the context of discussing the military doctrine's defensive nature. In the first place, it is necessary to stress this idea. We do not regard a single state or a single person as an enemy. The thing is that having taken upon ourselves the obligation of retaliatory operations [otvetnye deystviya], we have taken upon ourselves the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear arms under any circumstances. Not under any circumstances will we be the first to commence military operations if we ourselves are not subjected to attack.

Finally, after all, if we speak of the future, if we look to the future, we are in favor of such a mutual reduction of armed forces on both sides as to render them capable of carrying out defensive operations but incapable of accomplishing expanded offensive operations [razvernutyye nastupaltelnyye operatsii]. This is what reflects the sense of the defensive military doctrine.

[Dikov] If you take the 1930's, for istance, an officially acccepted view existed in our country: fight the enemy on his territory. This view undoubtedly gave birth to certain theories, particularly that the best defense is offense. These views, let us say this, also existed in our country after the Great Patriotic War. Modern Soviet military doctrine, just as the doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, as Anatoliy Pavlovich has just emphasized here, has a strictly or exclusively defensive nature.

And the main cutting edge of our present doctrine is directed precisely at preventing any war, be it nuclear or conventional. Although our doctrine is in essence defensive, it in no way excludes active offensive operations, for carrying out, say, counterattacks, counterstrikes, counteroffensives, in order to restore a position lost in defense, and in routing an enemy that has driven a wedge. There is no contradiction in the fact that we teach our forces offensive operations within the defensive character of our military doctrine. I think that we will continue to teach them the offensive, too, parallel with defense.

[Stefanovskiy] I would like, in this connection, just to refer to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, on how he conceived of defense following the victory of the revolution. In 1918, in the work "On Infantile Leftism and Petty Bourgeois Ways", Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote: We have been defensivists since 25 October 1917; we demand from everyone a serious attitude toward defense. This means thoroughly preparing and taking rigorous account of the correlation of forces. And 2 years later, at the ninth party congress, he stressed: We must accompany our steps toward peace with an intensification of the whole of our military preparedness, and certainly without disarming our Armed Forces. Our Armed Forces are a real guarantee that the imperialist powers will not make the slightest attempt, the slightest encroachment.

[Sedov] I also have here, written down, the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev that were in his report at the 19th all-union party conference. It says here: To the main question that most of all concerns Soviet people—has it proven possible to push back the threat of war?—we can reply, yes, certainly.

[Dikov] The international situation is currently such that the situation over the past 3 years, since the 27th congress, has changed substantially and continues to change for the better. But the international situation continues to remain equivocal—this was also the conclusion of the conference. And there is still no guarantee of the irreversibility of the incipient positive processes—that is, the threat, the military threat to the world, has still not been fully removed.

[Sedov] That is, it has been pushed back, but this doesn't mean that...

[Dikov, interrupting] Yes, it's been pushed back, but not removed. Yes, and that is borne out by the facts. We are becoming convinced that Western imperialists are not abandoning their policy of handling affairs, from a position of strength with regard to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Political and military figures speak of this constantly. In the conceptions and doctrines of various sorts of the United States and NATO, they have been counting to this day on strength—military strength—and on nuclear deterrence. They also retain a directive on the first use of nuclear weapons. [video at this point shows a documentary illustration showing NATO forces and meetings; the caption reads: More than 1,500 military facilities are maintained by the United States close to the borders of the Soviet Union. Plying the seas far from the shores of the United States are 140-160 warships]

U.S. Secretary of Defense Carlucci, following a visit to the Soviet Union, returned to Washington and gave an interview to the media there. He said bluntly that the Soviets continue to remain the United States' main likely enemy, and this thought is being introduced into the public consciousness of the West. But the main thing is that it is being underpinned by real military might which is in practice aimed from all sides at the Soviet Union and the states of the Warsaw Pact. I have brought with me to today's conversation a small map. It would be nice if our cameramen could show it to our viewers. It can be seen from this map that the United States has, over the course of more than 40 years, been maintaining many military bases, major groupings of its armed forces, and other facilities close to the borders of the

Soviet Union, thousands, tens of thousands of kilometers from U.S. territory. There are more than 1,500 of these outstations and military facilities. Located at them are more than 600,000 U.S. servicemen, 8,000 tanks and other armored vehicles, more than 2,000 aircraft, and 3,000 helicopters. Plying the oceans of the world, far from the shores of the United States, are, as a rule, 140-160 or more warships. [video shows the map, highlighting the U.S. facilities, further film of U.S. forces]

[Dmitriyev] Sergey Alekseyevich, have you recently seen an article by a very infuential senator? He said this: We are for parity, but for the sort of parity in which superiority remains on the U.S. side.

[Sedov] Well, what sort of parity is that?

[Dmitriyev] Indeed, what sort of parity is that? I don't understand. [Meshcheryakov] Allow me to say, from the historical point of view, that, in my view, two tendencies can be traced here. The first is to rally public opinion in such a way that there shouldn't be a threat to anyone. This was noted during the first stages of the development of our Armed Forces...

[Dmitriyev, interrupting] The danger can stem not only from the major powers' militarist circles, but also any regional or local conflict can easily expand beyond the confines inside which it arose. But, finally, one has to bear in mind and pay attention to such an unpleasant fact as the proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world. Today a growing number of countries possess, or will possess tomorrow, these weapons. Where is the guarantee that they won't fall into the hands of adventurists or even terrorists? This is certainly a very serious source of the danger of war.

[Sedov] Well, we have covered quite broadly and in some detail...

[Meshcheryakov, interrupting] Two words, if I may? I would like to end the conversation on this on an optimistic note. However great the danger of war to the world might be, there is nevertheless no fated inevitability of war. War can be prevented and war must be prevented. Herein lies, as the 27th congress told us, the historic calling of socialism, of all progressive forces of mankind, of peace-loving forces of our planet; and this is served by our Armed Forces, too.

[Sedov] That's clear. Thank you. Now I would like to read to you a letter which will change the course of our conversation slightly, one of very, very many letters. This letter was signed by Knyazyuk, N.V., although he writes here: I'm sorry I can't reveal my exact name and address, as I don't have the right to risk the health and life of my nephew. So, it is virtually anonymous, but nevertheless characteristic of this package of letters.

It says here: I have always liked the display of might of our Soviet Army. It's pleasant and a source of pride for me to look at the young, fit, and versatile soldiers and officers. I am nearly 60; my spell in the Army came in the distant fifties. I have very plesant memories from my service, but they have recently started to talk about some sort of bullying, about nonregulation relations in the Army. My sister has come back from the heat of Central Asia, where she traveled to the military unit where my nephew is serving. Having been there and having seen her son, my sister now cries nearly every day. I'll be blunt—my nephew has been unlucky. Well, the letter is very long—I'll just read some extracts. According to what my nephew says, not a day or night passes without his being degraded. Beatings, obscenities, and other degrading acts. And here again, at the end: Where did such wild ways and anarchy originate in our Army? The nephew also said that he is soon to get 12 strokes with a belt buckle on his hind quarters when the first anniversary of his service comes round. He will then also be a cherpak [a soldier in the 2d year of his military service]. This is really some sort of idiocy. But nevertheless, we have quite sufficient letters about this bullying, and I think the time has come to discuss this problem. Who would like to speak, comrades?

[Kruk] Well, if you permit met, perhaps I could...

[Sedov, interrupting] Well, in that case —Vladimir Mikhaylovich, he is a psychologist; and what's more, this is a new service which has been created in the Armed Forces, so we shall try to explain all this in a sufficiently authoritative way, is that right?

[Kruk] Yes, German Petrovich, your're right in the sense that military psychology is currently going through a qualitatively new stage in its development. A decision was adopted recently to set up a sociopsychological service in the Army and the Navy, whose units would actively enter into the struggle against those phenomena which you have just indicated in part of the letter. The problem of barracks-room hooliganism, or as it is now being called, irregular relations, dedovshchina, starikovshchina, certainly exists in the Army; although let's make it clear straightaway—and probably everybody here will agree—that this is not a general feature of the Armed Forces. In the Army there are plenty of splendid military units, with fine traditions, and this is confirmed, by the way, by the experience of what our lads have done in Afghanistan.

But what is being written in this and other letters does exist; this problem is a complex one, and it is being persistently tackled by commanders of political workers, and here simplifications are dangerous. I would like to single out just one or two aspects of this problem. Recently we completed research into the Belorussian and a number of other military districts, and we revealed a curious state of affairs. Over 90 percent of young servicemen had, even before they entered Army service, heard of these so-called irregular relations, usually from their

parents or colleagues of their age group, and they had come across such things before the Army—in schools, technical schools, vocational technical colleges, or at work. For you know, the essence of these phenomena—in the Army and outside it—is one and the same: It is an encroachment on the personal dignity—isn't that so, Vyacheslav Pavlovich—of people of one's own age, or, in this instance, of one's fellow servicemen. In other words, it is a system, so to speak, of parasitism at the expense of a weaker person.

Of course, there are quite a number of problems here. As a psychologist I maintain that servicemen—especially young servicemen—have established a sort of passive attitude to any encroachment on their personal dignity which they encounter. Therefore, of course, it is difficult enough trying to solve this problem by the use of officers alone. In many ways, the acuteness of the problem, including the sad plight of this nephew, may be determined by the attitude of the servicemen themelves to this disgraceful behavior.

[Sedov] But on the other hand, this cannot pass by unnoticed or without coming to the attention of the immediate commanders, leaders, and so on.

[Kruk] Quite so. And all the work on prevention, on prophylactics, is being built, taking this into consideration. But there is one particular thing here. You are right when you say that it is not just the Army that provokes this system of encroachment. The whole root of this evil lies in pre-Army sources. We all remember very well (?Krylatov)...

[Seregin, interrupting] I would like to [words indistinct].

[Kruk] That is perfectly true.

[Sedov] But the Army is a most organized medium, if we can compare the vocational-technical college and the Army unit.

[Kruk] Yes.

[Sedov] Therefore, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, I can understand that you get a less-than-100-percent quality replacement—or high-quality—replacement of troops. At the same time, I would like to hear a reply to the question as to how the struggle against the terrible phenomenon in the Armed Forces is going.

[Kruk] In short, (?it's all about) rather simple things. The first thing, I would say, is to expose the group of individuals who are either prone to irregular behavior or are either the offenders or the offended. Second, we must (?substantiate), so to speak, specific facts of this behavior and not leave them unpunished. This is also a pretty serious problem. We must not permit any covering up of this—in other words, we must bring all these violations to light openly and expose them for what they really are. On this, incidentally, to some extent, and all the misfortunes of our nephew that are listed in our letter...

[Sedov,interrupting] I would like to ask Gennadiy Aleksandrovich who, so to speak—well, he can see rather more broadly the practical work of this side of this question—to tell us whether there is any kind of progress being made in solving this rather unpleasant problem.

[Stefanovskiy] I would like to begin with a basic answer to that question and then go into more detail.

[Sedov] Please do so, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich.

[Stefanovskiy] I want to say quite definitely that at this time there is progress, and that this was discussed at the well-known session of the Politburo that took place on 13 October of this year. The peak as far as irregular relations are concerned took place in 1985, when this manifestation occurred widely in a number of units, subdetachments, and on ships. Beginning in 1985, attention was focused on this problem in all areas and at all levels of the Army and the Navy. Today we can say that from 1985 onward there has been a 20-30-percent reduction each year in the number of violations of this kind. If I am to speak specifically about this year, then the reduction has been 40 percent. [video shows documentary illustration which states that among 1988 conscripts 15 percent are from single-parent families; two percent are orphans; up to 50 percent experienced absolute power over people younger than themselves; video then shows soldiers running in the mud, all in pink and red colors]

In particular, individual conversations with the recruits entering this year have shown that, say, up to 15 percent of recruits coming in had one parent and that among them 2 percent were orphans. Most of them had been brought up by their grandfathers and grandmothers. Up to half of those coming in already had had practical experience in telling others younger than themselves what they had to do. A considerable percentage had police records or had been taken to police stations for questioning. If this is not taken into consideration from the start, if things are just allowed to take their own course, which is what used to be done and which used to be regarded as the usual thing...

[Sedov, interrupting] The average statistical new recruit.

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, and this social portrait is now making it possible—when it is precisely defined, and we are receiving help in this from psychologists and sociologists; the military legal people have now been brought in actively; a firm alliance has now been set up in all subdetachments and units—and this makes it possible for us to work out specific measures. What we are talking about is special attention for those people who have already been infected by these—shall we call them bacilli—which make them seek to humiliate the weak; we are talking about developing preventitive measures,

publicizing our laws, the requirements of the oath, the requirements of the regulations that have the task of regulating relations between military subdetachments and between individual soldiers. Educational work of this kind, organizational and preventitive work, has made it possible for us to achieve certain progress over the 3 years that have elapsed.

[Sedov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, I have noticed that both you and Vladimir Mikhaylovich have mentioned more than once the experience of the Belorussian Military District. Could you speak in more detail on this?

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, I would like to tell what they have done in the Belorussian Military District. Work in receiving young recruits, selecting and studying them, has been made the number one problem or practical task, from the commander and member of the military council of the district to the commander and political worker of the subdetachment. All young recruits have undergone individual interviews. In the first place they have seen the people. In the second place they have involved in this work—and this is something we used to not do—additional commissions which have been set up and which have determined their physical, their physiological, if you like, suitability for the Army, and their moral suitability, too.

Well, in determining the picture, we unfortunately came up against—in particular in the Belorussian Okrug, to give an example, and the picture is roughly the same in the Turkestan District—facts, in which these commissions that have been set up, the so-called outside comissions, were forced to turn down for Army acceptance more than 1,000 conscripts already sent to them. The grounds here were illness, psychological disturbances, physical incapacity, and other reasons connected with the family situation, something, that is, that contradicts Soviet law. Thus, if you specifically speak of the Belorussian District, approximately 1,000 potential victims or perpetrators of irregular relations have been isolated.

[Sedov] Eliminated.

[Stefanovskiy] Eliminated.

[Sedov] I served in the Navy. We would, as it were, arrive there as young sailors; raw recruits, we were called. Well, we were the butts of practical jokes, for withiout this the Navy apparently cannot live.

[Meshcheryakov] That is just what I wanted to speak about!

[Sedov] Well, you know, things were done for a laugh but there have never been instances of malicious taunting.

[Meshcheryakov] And about your question—there is a political side here, too. Let us not simplify this. In my view and according to my observations, these irregular relations arose in our country sometime after 1953 and began to accumulate. Sometime in 1957 or 1958—am I correct, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich?—when elements of democracy began to be used widely, according to the analysis of the Main Directorate...

[Stefanovskiy, interrupting] Yes, even in 1961 it was stated for all to hear in the report of the chief of the Main Political Directorate that this problem had made itself acutely felt, and that it required special attention.

[Meshcheryakov] We have democracy, you might think—for this is the truest line which is now being implemented. You have to learn how live under democracy, as the leadership tells us. And then suddenly there are relapses. There isn't any contradiction here. Democracy requires a high level of political—I would even say a high level of economic and moral—standards; it demands high standards in dealing between the nationalities. And at times these standards in our country are insufficient. There is democracy: We can say things and we can do things knowing that we're not going to get sent anywhere for doing so, as we could have been sent in 1948 or in other years. But we have not learned how to mix with each other, and sometimes we do not use our masculine strength in the direction that we should. And sometimes, as Yuriy Polyakov observed—and I think that his books will be even better in the future—well, here the artist has depicted a lad of such ordinary origins; I don't know whether he can be seen on the screen or not. And of course a lad like that is very likable, but he isn't yet capable of defending himself, let alone the homeland, as he will reveal, and he is the one given the task of defending the homeland.

I think that the recognition by our young people of their duty to the homeland, and the recognition of that role by our parents and by all of us... [pauses] well, it is our misfortune that irregular relationships have made their appearance. But if there is misfortune facing the people—Chernobyl, or anywhere else—the whole of the Army comes to help. I do not know a single man who would not come to help. We are talking about irregular relations, and that is our misfortune. No one should relish that. We have to set about this with all the people, and eradicate this vile manifestation. [video: Meshcheryakov shows a copy of a book by Yuriy Polyakov entitled "100 Days to the Order"]

[Sedov] Indeed, all the letters direct themselves to the question of why this happened. Well, we have now been given a fairly broad picture, so to speak. And what means are there for combatting it? People are indeed more worried by the first part of the question. The Army has always been a model for discipline, a model for comradely relationships. And suddenly we have this kind of thing. Where is it taking place? Not in the vocational technical college, not in the technical college, but in the Army!

[Stefanovskiy] I believe Comrade Seregin can confirm how our law currently treats....

[Sedov] Please do; go ahead.

[Seregin] You know it is possible to say that a whole system of legal means has now come into being which is aimed at strengthening military discipline and at the prevention of violations of the law.

[Sedov] Nevertheless, at present, when a rapid process of the democratization of society is taking place in our country, and when we are all talking about setting up a law-governed state, this exposes the problem even more sharply. At the same time, so to speak, well, I don't know, you cannot even buy this Criminal Code in the ordinary way, and I am saying this because the question is: How can one bring home to the servicemen what their rights are; how can one help them to use these rights; and at the same time, of course, the question of how they can be protected and how those who are guilty of these things can be punished.

[Seregin] Well, to continue what I was saying, I will say that there is direct protection. A law was indeed adopted in our country not so long ago, or more precisely, changes were made in the law on criminal responsibility for military crimes. And there is Article 8, which lays down criminal responsibility for violation of the prescribed rules governing relations between servicemen. If it's point A—simply beatings or violence of another kind—it means up to 2 years' deprivation of freedom. There is also violence of another kind—there are cases known from the press where men have been forced to stitch inserts in other people's collars, or to wash their uniforms or other similar things; and point B of this article lays down criminal responsibility with deprivation of liberty for up to 5 years when less serious or light injuries, bodily injuries, say, are inflicted upon a serviceman. What do we mean by the words light or less serious? Well, this is when someone has to be sent to the field hospital or sick quarters—in short, when he has to receive treatment for a period of between 7 days and 3 weeks. And point C of the same article provides for very serious criminal liability—up to 12 years' deprivation of liberty—in cases where this violence is inflicted by a group of individuals, or where weapons are used—that is, when it is very serious and evil in its nature.

[Sedov] Well, how can the serviceman who has become the victim in such a case, how can he make use of this right? What does he have to do? Does he write a report to his immediate superior, or can he go over the head of his command and appeal straight to the juridical bodies?

[Seregin] That, too, is a right and a means of preventing infringements of the law. Our regulations give the serviceman the right to make a complaint—that is a constitutional right all servicemen enjoy. He can appeal directly to the militry prosecutor, for with us the military procuracy carries out supervision over legality and ensures the legitimate rights and interests of servicemen; and it is possible to approach the military prosecutor directly when one's rights are being violated.

[Sedov] The reason why I asked that question is because these letters contain a certain concern, so to speak, that one way or another, whatever complaint has been made by the soldier or by any other serviceman, it will boomerang and return to...

[Meshcheryakov, interrupting] Furthermore, German Petrovich, television once showed one comrade who stated that whatever the soldier wrote would be censored and the letter wouldn't reach anyone.

[Sedov] Is that the case or is it not, comrades?

[Seregin] Of course it's not!

[Meshcheryakov] It's a lie, an out-an-out lie!

[Seregin] I have just gotten back from the Turkistan Military District. I saw things for myself; I was in the barracks and I talked to the soldiers, and you know there are even notices posted up providing the names of commander of the unit, the head of the political department, the deputy commander for the political unit. These give the telephone number you can call instead of having to write.

[Meshcheryakov] There's a whole bundle of letters...

[Sedov, interrupting] No, those are mainly letters from parents.

[Meshcheryakov] Ah, parents' letters.

[Sedov] Letters from parents—from tearful mothers, from grandfathers—of course, containing large numbers of examples like those I mentioned during the war. To be brief, though, if we are going to sum up our discussion of this particular topic, then we can look into the future with optimism and be confident that this process will, in fact, be turned round in the very, very near future.

[Stefanovskiy] Groups of lecturers have been formed in all units, garrisons' officers' messes, and party committees. These must include legal specialists, and the military lawyers are under an obligation to give talks systematically as personnel change and become younger, explaining the provisions of Soviet law, criminal liability, and explaining the rights and obligations of every serviceman under the law. This is the first condition that sets the shortcoming right. The second condition: The example of the Turkestan Military District has been given everywhere. A system of direct appeal to the commander of the regiment and the military prosecutor of the garrison is now being introduced in all military okrugs and in many naval fleets. The commander of the regiment, therefore, or the deputy commander of the regiment, has his own post which makes it possible for him to receive information from a soldier without going through his immediate superior officers who sometimes—now there is less and less of this—but who sometimes try to hold back his complaint. But if it

doesn't reach the garrison procuracy—meaning a letter from any soldier, NCO, or officer about any infringement of rights, including those involving irregular relations—and this has now become the usual thing, then the procuracy initiates and organizes a check, and if need be it initiates a criminal case.

The third source has now been made autonomous, although this did not use to be the case: In any instance where assistance has been sought from the medical unit, the head of the military medical unit, the head of the sick unit, or the head of the medical service have been given the right by special order of the defense minister to immediately provide information about the case to two places—the first by means of an official report to the commander, and the second to the prosecutor. In that way any attempt to conceal or to draw a veil over any conflict by any official is simply impossible because a system of double-checking is being organized. I don't mention the fact that the minister of defense and the head of the Chief Political Directorate have now set up a system of checking measures which constantly verify legality with the involvement of the chief military procuracy, legality, and the examination of complaints.

Any instances in which this right is violated—the servicemen's right to complain, right up to the minister of defense—are punished with all seriousness. I think that the day is not far off when we will be able to tell the Soviet people, the party Central Committee, with all responsibility...

[Sedov, interrupting] Moms and dads, do not fear for your sons!

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, moms and dads, that the task set for us has been fulfilled. I think we are proceeding toward this.

[Sedov] Well, on the score of the military commissariats, so to speak, it seems to me that the military commissariat represents a kind of state acceptance service—that is to say that its results will be commensurate with the output it produces. Well, all the same, what influence does the Defense Ministry exert on the work of military commissariats, especially as we have come to convince ourselves here that their primary cells in this network are rather large?

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, I want to say that in recent years, and particularly over the past 2-3 years, the Defense Ministry, the General Staff, and the Main Political Directorate have devoted very serious attention, first and foremost, to bringing cadres up to strength and to analyzing the activities of military commissariats at all levels. In all probability, I will not be revealing a major secret if I say that over the past 2-3 years we have been compelled to release up to 2,000 officers of military commissariats from their posts.

[Sedov] Up to 2,000? In the Army as a whole, or the Armed Forces?

[Stefanovskiy] In the USSR as a whole. By the measures that have been adopted we have strengthened up to 70 percent of republican, town, oblast, and rayon military commissariats with new cadres who have experience in training, in military practice. We thus have created the prerequisites for the military commissariat to genuinely become a body having at its disposal teachers and people capable of an attentive and all-around analysis of recruitment and its organization. Incidentally, a new post has been created within the military commissariats, that of vocational guidance psychologist.

[Sedov] Well, at this point I simply would like to interrupt you for a second. I simply have managed to somehow get acquainted with one of the Moscow military commissariats. I have Perovskiy Rayon in mind here. Well, there, I mean that boys arrive there from the Army and, on the contrary, so to speak, leave for the Army. Well, to tell the truth, there are many who have been working in these military commissariats for a long time, and perhaps some of them somehow have become a bit bored or fed up, so to speak. However, a boy, Captain Knyazev, arrived there having done his service and gone through the war in Afghanistan. Moreover, Serezha Laktenov, also an Afghan veteran, is working in the Komsomol Rayon committee. They have remarkable contact with each other.

Well, the Afghan veterans in particular—and we have not yet spoken of their fate in our broadcast—returning from there—and no, they are not hard put to find their bearings—they immediately come into contact with their comrades who know all there is to know about their life and service, and subsequently they direct these boys, so to speak. They help them in education, they help them find somewhere to live...

[Stefanovskiy, interrupting] Yes...

[Sedov] ...And so on and so forth. I would like you to touch on this question of the return of these boys from Afghanistan.

[Stefanovskiy] Yes. I mentioned, incidentally, that the first measure was to bring the cadres up to strength. The second measure that currently is being acted upon together with the local party, soviet, and Komsomol bodies is the inclusion in this work, this very important work, of the soldiers-reservists who have returned from Afghanistan. The quality of unit-assigned reservists, and naturally, of Army recruits, is higher. This can be seen right away in oblasts. I can, for instance, name them: Minsk, Leningrad, Rostov, Grodno, Gomel, and numerous other oblasts, where this category of young men has become actively and extensively involved in the work in schools and with young people who are in the process of being registered and called to active-duty training stints [sbor] in DOSAAF organizations.

Well, I want to end this conversation with information to the effect that currently, a large group of those employed within the central apparatus of the Defense Ministry is working in a number of military commissariats in the Baltic republics. I mean in the RSFSR and the Ukraine, where our comrades are helping to organize this interaction so that military commissariats really become both a genuine state acceptance service in the good sense of the word and agents for the promotion of calm—that is to say, of creating an atmosphere which genuinely will help the process of improving the upbringing and training of young people for their Army service.

[Sedov] Yes, well, there is still a group of letters, and their common denominator is the following question: Well, we have become accustomed to the fact that things in the Army are done not by persuasion, but rather by command. The commander's order is law for a subordinate. Well, nonetheless, how is this one-man command and democratization of Army life to be seen? Let us get to the bottom of this, then.

[Seregin] Well, if you approach this question from the juridical viewpoint, then one-man command is, on the one hand, a form of mutual relations between the commanding officer and his subordinate. On the other hand, however, the one-man command represents a concentration in the hands of the commanding officer of the whole power—operational, administrative, and support power. Naturally, the command represents the responsibility of the commanding officer who has this power. Well, lately there appeared in our legal documents and military legislation norms which transfer to the general body and military collectives the powers that concern administrative and support services, giving them more authority in this area. Military collectives have the right and power to influence the adoption of decisions which affect the officer's promotion in the ranks, or, let us say, the promotion of another soldier; the questions of incentives and punishment; of awarding military ranks; the allocation of apartments and so forth—an entire range of questions. Well, what you get is this: When the collective participates in the decision made by the commanding officer, the prestige of the order and of the commander is enhanced.

[Meshcheryakov] I would like to say that currently—simultaneously with the process whereby democracy is being made more robust—the role of one-man command is being enhanced. Well, if you enter the realms of fantasy a bit, if you envision this for yourelf and make two sections, a horizontal one, representing what the Army is doing now, and a vertical one, you will see that hundreds of thousands of officers, men, sergeants, sailors, and petty officers carry out most complicated tasks concerned with ensuring our state's defense. They are the missile-launcher crewmen sitting at their consoles, ready at any second to fulfill the homeland's order to launch in the name of its defense; they are the seamen who left their families for underwater navigation for a long period of time; they are pilots manning supersonic fighters or bombers, ready at any time to scramble, to say nothing of other functions the Army discharges in helping the people. In these conditions, the one-man commander, fully aware of his responsibility to the party and the people, by making a decision creates the main thing as far as democracy is concerned: He safeguards our motherland's security. This is the main thing for democracy, so that our people are not worried about what their fate will be. [video shows a brief clip of a submarine in port; close-up of same, with eight men standing at attention atop it; soldier manning console; missile in silo; helicopter and two jets in flight]

[Stefanovskiy] The commanding officer, prior to issuing his order, will, in extreme conditions, be required to hear what his closest associates have to say; you cannot hold a meeting, but will hear them out without fail. Democratism does exist in adopting decisions and issuing orders. If you probe further, then the councils of military collectives, courts of honor, personnel assemblies, assemblies of elective bodies up to the regiment or warship level, includng party committees, Komsomol committees, people's control bodies—which include men, sergeants, sailors doing their compulsory service—have now become very widespread in our country. This represents a new aspect. Women's councils have been set up; incidentally, they have been in existence throughout the course of the entire history [not further specified], and they are taking an active part; shoppers' commissions [lavochnyye komissii], or this is how they are colloquially known among the people, commissions set up and concerned with the distribution of goods within the Military Trading Organization; housing commissions which include representatives of party trade union, Komsomol organizations, and nonparty people. This makes it possible to resolve in an open manner the things Comrade Seregin spoke about, the cadre questions, questions of the allocation of housing and goods in short supply. And the commanding officer, supported by these public bodies and organizations, has at his disposal the information and takes views into account...

[Sedov, interrupting] Becoming, as it were, the focus of everyone's views.

[Stefanovskiy] This makes it possible for him to adopt decisions and to issue orders on the basis of these views. Moreover, I want to say that this has figured in the latest decisions and in the order of the minister of defense, and that now the democratization processes are being developed further. In particular, both in party work and in service activities, the so-called command and political-line positions have been eliminated—and they had the exclusive prerogative for examining personal cases and discussing them. Now it is the primary party organization which investigates any communist, irrespective of his position or rank. It is the primary party organization which hears the report, which gives references when any question is tackled, and which can bring one to account if grounds exist to justify this.

Earlier—and this I can state, too—previous instructions made the proviso that the commanding officer and the deputy commander for political affairs could only be investigated by a higher-level party commission.

There is one more aspect of this. For the first time we are practicing something which has never exised before. Starting from this year, the political organs are making a report on their activities to the communists, and they receive an assessment on a two-point system—satisfactory or unsatisfactory. During all that has occurred before there has been no such practice of a democratic assessment of the activity of political organs.

[Dmitriyev] We are now speaking out actively against the system of administration by command. But there is one area where this system has been and still is in operation. But the essence of the matter is that it, too, cannot remain unchanged. It must evolve, taking account of the democratic achievements. However, there is another side to this. Democracy, too, in its pure state, cannot remain the same in the Army as in civilian life. It must make some movement, taking account of those specific conditions in which the Armed Forces live and operate.

[Sedov] Naturally. Let us move on to the next group of questions. I would like to move the discussion on to the life of our officer corps. It is well known that the officers are the backbone of the Armed Forces, its base. It is precisely the officers who are the organizers of the service, who train their subordinates, and who maintain order among the military—we have also spoken about that - and maintain traditions. In brief, they are the foundation of military construction. It turns out that from time to time in this unshakable foundation, some elements are falling out. I am referring to reports from mainly young officers asking to be discharged from the Army. Another similar question is the creation of a sort of vacuum when some military colleges cannot find enough youngsters from civilian life to fill their courses.

[Meshcheryakov] I have come across, in the archives of the 1960's also, a considerable number of reports from officers who wrote asking to be discharged or to leave their profession. What were the reasons for this? The Armed Forces were being reduced from 1.2 million to 600,000-650,000. Officers are people, too. They think of the future of their families, particularly when an officer trainee or lieutenant thinks that he is not needed. This is the way it seems to him, mistakenly. At that time—and now, too—at times he thinks that it would be better for him to get out in good time and get established in civilian life rather than spend 10-15 years without an apartment and then go back and wait another 10 years. But let me stress once again: If we work with an officer and he understands that the homeland needs him, that he will be provided with everything necessary, and that even reductions will not result in his post and his specialization in defending the homeland becoming unnecessary, then there is no doubt that people will come join up. Our young people understand why they come in and they, the majority, love their Army.

[Sedov] Are we not dealing here with what Nikolay Viktorovich called the problem of making provision for officers' families?

[Stefanovskiy] German Petrovich, I would like to say that such a provision is also a reason, if one is to try to establish all the reasons for the increase in the number of such reports among young officers and for a certain reduction—but note, a reduction in the applicants for such colleges as the aviation, missile, tank, and construction colleges—but not for all colleges.

[Sedov] No, no, I did stress that it was just for some of them.

[Stefanovskiy] Precisely, for some of them. Therefore, here, if one is to draw up the reasons, one could divide them up as follows. One of the reasons is the increasingly complicated nature of military service. A young officer who comes up against complications, and who is insufficiently prepared for these complications, probably in some cases loses confidence in his abilities. A second reason is undoubtedly living conditions, the unsettled living conditions. The remoteness from the centers. And as you know, two-thirds of the garrisons—and these are virtually where all our families and where young officers are, as a rule—are along the borders—that is, they are remote from major cultural centers and towns.

The question of living accomodations, to which we are returning, is also an acute problem, and that, too, has its effect.

The third reason, which we do not exclude, and this is undoubtedly a repetition of what happened in the 1960's—the general talk about detente, the destruction of the first batch of intermediate- and short-range missiles—has faced young people with the question, naturally...

[Sedov] ...Of whether they will be needed in the future.

[Stefanovskiy] Yes. Will I be needed? So, there has been an increase in the number of such reports and a reduction in the flow to missile colleges. Now on the agenda is the question of a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear means. This question is having a practical influence on young people's moods, naturally. But, all the same, despite all of this, against the general background of these reasons we are talking about, what we regard as the main reason is the shortcomings in education, in vocational guidance in schools, including initial military training, where we are to have a very thorough change of the teaching staff and of the structure and content of vocational guidance and study. And the second reason,

of course, is shortcomings in educational work by our command political cadres. In the colleges and in the military units, when a young officer arrives he is not always given a friendly welcome. The right conditions are not always created for him, and he always feels some concern. At times this creates the motives that instigate departures.

[Sedov] Thank you. I would like to invite Vyacheslav Pavlovich to again contribute to the discussion concerning the legal protection given to young officers and, in particular, about their rights.

[Seregin] German Petrovich, if one is to speak about rights in general, one should not think that because a man has entered the Army he has some new rights and that absolutely everything is new, with new laws. In fact, however, the nature of our state and our Army, with its inextricable links with the people, is such that a serviceman has all the rights and freedoms—social and economic, political and individual—that all our citizens enjoy in accordance with the Constitution. These rights, freedoms, duties, and responsibilities (?exist for everyone), including those concerning material provision. Our people have always shown concern for servicemen throughout the history of our Army. One cannot agree with what has just been stated, for it has been noted in our country and our state that in the past few years a number of documents and legal acts have been adopted which provide for or expand benefits for servicemen—for example, those serving in remote localities (?have greater benefits). This means that they can reserve housing in their former place of residence. This means a specified term of service in those regions, a specified term after which they are moved. Free travel for members of the families of servicemen, (?not just for servicemen, themselves, but) also members of families, free travel to remote areas. These are also benefits.

[Meshcheryakov] But our bureaucratism sometimes makes it impossible to fully implement these benefits.

[Seregin] Indeed, there is a shortage of apartments and living space in our country, and there is a shortage in the Army, too. And if there is no apartment then you have to rent a private one. And to live for a month in a private, two-room apartment you have to pay an amount equivalent to the pay of a junior officer.

[Stefanovskiy] R100 or R150.

[Seregin] That is even more than an officer's pay, you know. And the wife cannot work. And what is worse is that this can be be resolved. In 1985, Resolution No 241 of the USSR Council of Ministers established that a residence registration can be granted to a serviceman and his family for housing space in the military units before he receives his housing. But what if the military unit does not have any housing—and if they had any housing they would have given it to the officer, ensign, or warrant officer? So it turns out that this rule is inoperative. And the officer, just as before, does not have his residence registration, and his wife is unable to get a job. If a serviceman has bought a car or a motorcycle, he cannot register it or use it. The Constitution gives the right to own individual property. Perhaps someone will take note of this broadcast. Right now, in accordance with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, legislation is being improved. Perhaps this rule will be improved, and it will be written down that it is permissible to register an officer and his family for residence before he receives housing space, at the address of the military unit.

[Sedov] You know perfectly well that there is broad public discussion of all questions in a state based on the rule of law. You, as a lawyer, (?pen in hand), need to write it all simply. Here are some questions of a different sort. For example, who has the right to be freed from military service, to deferment, the attitude of believers toward fulfilling their duty as servicemen? There are also questions here of interethnic relations. You probably will continue it further.

[Seregin] We surely must proceed from the assumption that the obligation to defend the fatherland lies not only with the Armed Forces. According to the Constitution it is the business of the whole people. Military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces is an honorable obligation of all citizens. Therefore, everyone must serve. Of course, when the system of bringing the state up to strength is defined, everything is taken into account, both the interests of the national economy and those of the country's defense, as well as the personal interests of citizens. Taking account of all these interests, our system of bringing up to strength of course provides for a whole system of deferments: deferments due to the family situation, for continuing education, and for reasons of health. Deferments for family reasons are given to those recruits who have dependent parents incapable of work, or a single parent if there are no other persons whom by law should (?look after them). A deferment is granted if there are two children.

[Sedov] I have a specific letter here: a family with an invalid from the Patriotic War and an invalid due to illness.

[Seregin] According to Article 34 of the law on general military service, a deferment should be granted. Many write that they are students, saying that they need a deferment for students. Comrades, it is written in Article 35: Students at daytime higher educational establishments enjoy deferment from call-up to an active term of military service. The point is...

[Sedov, interrupting] All recruits? Or only those who...

[Seregin, interrupting] No, the point is that it goes according to a special list. This list is defined by the Council of Ministers in concert with the USSR Gosplan

and the Defense Ministry. For this reason, it was said at the beginning of this program that the more our peace initiatives are supported, the wider that list will be. Comrades, everything is dialectically interconnected here.

[Sedov] Vyacheslav Pavlovich, here is a letter from the Baltic. One young man writes: I am a believer. I do not wish to take up arms and to point them at anyone. What should I do?

[Seregin] Probably one needs to bear in mind the following: that the Orthodox Church, that is the Orthodox faith, and the Catholic faith provide for the defense of the fatherland and defense with arms. Therefore, I think that both from the viewpoint of the faith, the right of conscience, and from the viewpoint of our law there is no (?problem) here...

[Sedov, interrupting] However, we are dealing with a different attitude here, so to speak, to the effect that can he be used in the Army, so to speak, nonoperationally?

[Seregin] Commanders, political staff, starting with the enlistment office—we have said it here already—study their personnel, familiarize themselves with them, and take things into consideration.

[Sedov] I see, but our time, nonetheless, is not unlimited. There still are quite a few questions. Here I would like to deal with the very many questions from mothers on how their children enter the Army, how they will live there, what they will eat, and so on and so forth. Before you answer, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, I will just recall the little wartime ditty I heard from some American sailors. I remember four lines: You're here in the barracks, Mr Green. There's no pillows here, no featherbeds. You'll have to clean and [word indistinct], dear friend, without anyone's hands. The Army is the Army. Barracks are barracks, but still....

[Stefanovskiy] Well, before replying to this direct question, I should like to add just a little to what Comrade Seregin said about students. He touched on a question which is currently very acute, one which has acquired great acuteness and publicity. Certain circumstances have now exacerbated this problem. I would like to say that at present a working group has been set up with the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Defense to examine as a whole the questions of doing one's service and making the laws more precise. Also, independently, the question is being examined, and certain changes will be put forward to the system of call-up and the organization of military training of students both at military faculties and higher educational establishments which train persons for the defense industry. Replying to the question you asked, of course, it is understandable. At the moment the call-up of young people is at its height, and naturally moms and dads have questions. First, how are they received? Second, where will they go? Third, what will their conditions of service be? Of course, it is difficult to reply to every letter and every question now because it depends on where they go, but I should like to say that the general situation, the general picture, the general mood, on the training...

[Sedov, interrupting] Briefly, if you please.

[Stefanovskiy] Briefly on how how the lads are trained and where they go to serve. First, as for the servicemen's collective, one must bear in mind that it is multiethnic now as never before. Elementary statistics—it is probably hard to get away from them—show that in a regiment on a ship there are between 20-30 nationalities; in a company equivalent to a subunit there are 8-15 nationalities; and in a military college there are 20-40 nationalities. Recently we conducted sociological research and a poll. And it must be said that about 80 percent of the young soldiers and sailors who had served 1 year in the Armed Forces said that they had gained in the 1st year of service a friend, a comrade, a helper in the process from among servicemen of different nationalities.

[Sedov] So that's a good thing, is it?

[Stefanovskiy] It shows that, yes, it is. And the other aspect that could confirm that educational work still produces results, that despite the national variety that we now have in a number of areas of our country—both we and the viewers know about this, of course—so far in our servicemen collectives there have been no instances of lawbreaking or any incidents connected with nationalistic manifestations, or on nationalist grounds.

[Sedov] Forgive me, but I have just heard that our time is already running out. I want to say that in my opinion we have had a very thorough and useful discussion. You have replied to many questions, comrades, but not to all, and in this way, in thanking you for this, we hope that our conversations may be repeated in the future.

[Stefanovskiy] We have a provisional agreement with the state television and radio of the USSR leadership that the beginning of today's broadcast is the start of a series of subsequent broadcasts. And I think that in not having replied to many questions, in the subsequent broadcasts we could specifically reply...

[Sedov, interrupting] Yes, by theme, yes.

[Stefanovskiy] I think that a whole range of questions linked with the service of an officer and his family, questions of training young people for Army service, probably deserve separate attention.

[Sedov] Separate discussion.

[Stefanovskiy] Separate discussion. Questions connected with the Afghans, with the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and their role after returning from Afghanistan. And probably questions will come up connected with the aesthetic upbringing of young people in the

Army, military-patriotic, and so on and so forth. So we would like to say again that Army service is not a forbidden zone. It is nationwide obligation, and that means that the people must know and that the people must take part in it. And we military men of course have an interest in fulfilling the instructions of the 19th party conference on qualitative parameters as effectively and reliably as possible, and we hope that the whole Soviet people will take part in the implementation of these instructions.